THE Freeman

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

JULY 1965

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WHY AUTOMATION?

TOM ROSE

Concerning the relations of prices and customers to wages and employees

AUTOMATION is a popular topic of discussion. Almost everyone is willing to express an opinion about it. Union leaders claim automation causes mass unemployment. Businessmen welcome it as a way to remain competitive. And social reformers use the "threat" of automation to plan new welfare programs.

The purpose of this article is to bring into focus some of the little-known aspects of automation and to stimulate and help crystallize thinking about automation and its ever-present twin, technological change.

Mr. Rose is Director of Economic Education, Associated Industries of Missouri.

Some years ago a young man was hired to turn small boxes at right angles on a conveyor belt. After a few days he found that, by holding his finger at a certain angle, the boxes turned properly when they came in contact with it. The next day he brought a stick to work, clamped it to make proper contact with the boxes, and thereby "automated" his job!

One definition for automation is "the use of machinery to control machinery." But this is simply a refinement of the practical conveyor example given above. When a person views computers and automatically controlled machines in this way, he is apt to gain a

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new perspective of automation — especially when he recognizes that the human energy that is replaced can be either physical or mental. Automation, then, is simply a new name for an old process: the transfer of work from people to machines in order to lighten man's burdens and to increase his output.

What Isn't Automation?

Actually, automation is blamed unjustly for effects it has not caused. It has become the public whipping post for a bigger thing called "technological change."

Technological change is change that is brought about by advances in the application of skills or methods of production or, even more importantly, change brought about by the discovery of new products that have new uses. For instance, the introduction of television dealt a tremendous blow to the movie industry.

Private companies have invested millions of dollars in research on a "new" metal called Titanium. It weighs about twice as much as aluminum but has some superior characteristics, so is preferred for some uses in aircraft and spacecraft. Cost has been a barrier to its use, but the millions of dollars invested in research have paid off by drastically lowering production costs. Soon it may compete with aluminum on a cost-weight basis. When this happens, lost aluminum sales could cause lowered employment in the aluminum industry. If so, the drop in employment would also be a direct result of technological change — not of automation. However, aluminum producers might turn to increased automation in an effort to lower production costs and thereby win back lost customers.

This distinction between technological change and automation is one that more people should understand. And that better understanding may come through study of some basic economic principles.

Basic Economics As a Benchmark

When a man buys a telescopic sight for his rifle, the first thing he does after installing it is to "sight it in." Fire control men in the Navy also "sight in" a ship's guns to make sure they aim true. To assist in doing this, they select a fixed point somewhere on the ship as a "benchmark." Measurements are made from this mark to insure an unchanging point of reference.

When talking about automation and changes in production or products, we can refer to similar benchmarks. Such reference points can be found in the following unchanging economic principles:

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PRINCIPLE #1

Man's Material Welfare equals *Natural Resources* plus *Human Effort* times *Tools.*

Man determines his material welfare (standard of living) by taking natural resources and applying his human effort to develop them with the aid of tools.

This is an absurdly simple statement of fact, yet how many people forget it when thinking about automation? If we remember the simple rule that man's standard of living is directly dependent on both the amount of effort he expends as well as the number and quality of tools he uses, it's easy to see that automation (i.e., better tools) can't possibly cause unemployment. Automation (better tools) can only increase production. Therefore, the real cause of unemployment must be found elsewhere.

PRINCIPLE #2

Man's wants are unlimited.

Some people claim automation increases production so much that overproduction results. This idea sounds plausible until we remember that man's wants have never been completely satisfied. Regardless of how many products there are, consumers always seem ready for more new ones.

For example, if we could go back 100 years and list all the things people could possibly want, the people of that day couldn't begin to name the thousands of wonderful new products that have been invented during the past century. If the list were up-dated every 25 years, people's wants would grow each time by leaps and bounds: from coarse black stockings to sheer nylon hose; from molasses and sulphur to modern antibiotics; from food cellars to automatically defrosted refrigerators. Yes, there's no doubt that people's wants always exceed the possibility of satisfying them. So, overproduction isn't the cause of unemployment either.

PRINCIPLE #3

All employment comes from customers—when customers are lost, unemployment results.

Once the truth of this statement is understood, the real cause of unemployment begins to rear its ugly head, and it's not "automation" or "changes in products or production." It's simply the refusal of customers to buy what is produced. A totalitarian government might possibly force customers to buy, but in America we rely on voluntary persuasion. And the best customer persuasion is usually a reduced price tag.

This leads to the next benchmark and to what brings about

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automation and changes in products or production (technological change).

PRINCIPLE #4

When a customer buys something, he pays these five costs:

- *Cost of goods and services purchased from suppliers*
- *Cost of tools wearing out (depreciation)*
- *Cost of taxes*
- *Cost of human energy (wages)*
- *Cost of using tools (interest)*

In the long run these five costs make up the per-unit cost of everything produced. And payment for them, if a company is to operate successfully, must come from the people who buy its products or services – its customers.

The important word "if" constitutes the intriguing challenge of being in business: can a company recoup its costs of production from its customers? A history of business failures could provide many interesting, but sad, experiences of entrepreneurs who have personally faced the sad realization that costs do not determine prices that consumers are willing to pay. Rather, it is the other way around: market prices limit the costs that can go into producing an article for sale. If a producer is to operate profitably, he must stay under the costs the market is willing to cover.

The Difference Between Interest and True Profit

Perhaps it might be well to digress a moment to explain the above designation of *interest* rather than profit as the "cost of using tools."

First, the question of profit as a cost. In its true economic sense, profit doesn't add to the market price. It is residual. Profit is the reward a producer gets for keeping his cost of production below the price his goods will bring on the market. When considered thus, profit certainly isn't a cost of production. It is extremely flexible. It might be very great or very small, and even negative if a business operates at a loss. The fact is that not very many businesses in a keenly competitive situation earn a true profit over and above interest costs.

Next, the designation of interest as the "cost of using tools." This is also logical and practical. By "tools" we mean not only our plant and machinery, but all assets owned and used by the business. This also includes ideas that have been patented, temporary cash balance held to pay the other four costs of production, and the like. Without these tools, our business wouldn't exist. Unless a business earns interest on investment, it will soon lose its investors.

Now, to get back to the signifi-

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cance of the five costs of production mentioned above. We've noted that costs do not determine market prices. Thus, when customers refuse to buy a product because the asking price is too high, producers must reduce the price to sell it. This reduced price will curtail future production of the item (with corresponding unemployment) unless total costs can be brought in line with the price ceiling set by the free market. If ways can be found, the product can be produced and sold, and unemployment thereby will be prevented. Now we begin to see the real cause for unemployment which is wrongfully blamed on automation: *Failure to reduce the five costs customers must pay each time they make a purchase.*

From the financial data contained in the 1964 annual report of a large U.S. auto manufacturer, we see that its income dollar was distributed like this:

1. *Cost of goods and services purchased from suppliers*	57¢
2. *Cost of tools wearing out (depreciation)*	5¢
3. *Cost of taxes*	6¢
4. *Cost of human energy (wages)*	27¢
5. *Cost of using tools (interest)*	5¢
	$1.00

How to Cut Costs

Now, suppose this is our company, and that customers stop buying our cars because they are priced too high. What do we do? We look to see where costs can be cut.

Our first three production costs shown above total 68¢. There is little chance to cut them very much. Competition determines the price we pay for our goods and services. Taxes and depreciation are fixed by government, and our accountant will vouch for the fact that present depreciation rates won't cover the cost of replacing our machines when they wear out.

Next, we look at the two remaining cost items. We find that only 32¢ remains to be divided between tool owners (stockholders) and tool users (employees). Here's how this 32¢ has been divided:

84 per cent was paid to employees	27¢
16 per cent accrued to owners	5¢

If savings have to be made in these two cost areas, the greater potential for reducing the cost of our cars, then, is the 84 per cent of divisible income paid to employees for the cost of human energy (wages). We can achieve this savings (remember, the need to lower costs is forced upon us by our customers) in two ways:

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By paying fewer employees at existing wage rates, or
By paying the same number of employees at lower rates.

The goal we must reach to stay in business is clear: reduce our per-car cost to the point where customers start buying them again.

If an inflexible wage contract prevents us from employing all of our present workers at lower pay, we are forced to reduce wage costs by replacing some of them with machines (assuming that we can raise the necessary investment funds). If we don't, we will have to close up shop. Then everyone will be unemployed. It would not be right to blame the resulting loss of jobs on automation, since the real cause would stem directly from the problem of inflexible wages. (This is why many employers claim the decision to automate is forced on them. They are forced to replace people with machines in order to keep total wage costs from going too high.)

Customers in Control

In summary, then, we see that all jobs in our company are created by the customers who buy our cars. If the five costs which we ask each customer to pay get too high, we start to lose customers to our competitors. To win them back, we must cut the price we ask for each car. This gives us less money to pay toward the five costs of producing each car. Whether our choice is increased automation at existing wages for some employees, or lowered wages for all employees, the *need to regain customers* is the cause that forces our decision.

Automation on one hand, or lower wage rates on the other, are only the effects caused by the unavoidable need to meet the price demands of customers. This fact should be stressed and stressed by businessmen until employees, stockholders, and the general public understand it.

Once the direct relationship between prices and customers to wages and employees is widely understood, a new basis for employee-employer understanding and cooperation will be opened. Employees will more readily recognize that the common interests of tool users and tool owners can be simultaneously achieved by conforming to the dictates of consumers. Such an understanding, in the long run, is the only hope to achieve the necessary high degree of labor-management cooperation to make our free enterprise system work at peak efficiency. So let us now consider some illustrations of the way in which automation serves to expand the market and regain lost customers.

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How Automation Helps Expand Markets and Regain Lost Customers

The Coal Industry. After World War II, coal lost its competitive advantage to oil and gas. This was caused by two contrasting factors: Excessive wage demands had increased the price of coal, while new methods of production decreased the relative cost of gas and oil. Naturally, consumers spent their dollars where they got the most for their money. Domestic and foreign use of coal dropped. Production slipped from 688 million tons in 1947 to 439 million tons in 1962. Employment in the coal industry fell with production, and thousands of miners were left without jobs.

Now, coal has made a comeback through the combined help of automation and technological change.

Automated machines mine more coal at less cost.

Unitized trains and more efficient loading docks made lower freight rates possible.

Larger coal ships have reduced the cost of overseas shipments.

Big utility companies have increased coal purchases. Foreigners have, too, because U. S. companies can now mine and deliver coal in Europe at a lower cost than European coal companies. As a result, coal industry employment has risen in the United States.

Electronics Industry. The radio business in the United States suffered a serious blow in 1959 when Japanese-made transistors were introduced. They were of excellent quality and cheaper, so consumers again spent their dollars where they got the best value. By 1962, Japanese producers had captured two-thirds of the transistor radio market in our country. The resulting decline in U. S. production caused a decrease in employment.

Recently General Electric announced it was selling transistor radios in competition with Japanese radios – not only in the United States, but even in far-off Japan! Again, it was automation and technological change – along with intelligent worker cooperation – that made the necessary savings in costs possible. Streamlined assembly lines, swift conveyor systems, more productive machines, and redesigned products all combined to produce quality products at competitive prices.

The Steel Industry. Widespread destruction in Europe and Japan during World War II provided opportunities to build efficient steel mills from scratch. Enterprising investors installed oxygen converters, computer-controlled systems, and other devices to increase effi-

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ciency. These cost-saving tools, in conjunction with low wage rates, lowered the production costs of foreign steel mills tremendously. As a result, steel producers in the United States lost not only foreign customers, but also domestic customers. Within a few years the dollar value of our steel exports dropped almost 45 per cent while imports increased almost 250 per cent. Lost foreign customers and increased imports meant fewer jobs for American steelworkers. Better tools of production and lower wage rates in foreign countries stole away customers who pay the wages of American steelworkers.

To meet the foreign competition, our mills are installing automated equipment at a faster rate. For instance, one company is planning a new plant that will use three major advancements of recent years: the basic oxygen furnace which turns out steel five times faster, vacuum degassing to remove impurities, and continuous casting which eliminates one production step. The benefits will be better steel at lower costs. These savings mean more customers and increased employment.

Every day we can see new examples of how automation and changes in production and products provide higher quality and lower prices to consumers – with increased employment resulting.

The key points in gaining a better understanding of automation, as we see it, are these:

All changes in production and products, all automation is aimed at winning customers.

If all segments of our economy will cooperate in meeting the quality and price demands of consumers, they will become customers.

All payroll dollars have only one ultimate source: the customer.

The key, then, is to concentrate on doing what is necessary to win customers. If this is done successfully, the jobs will follow. ◈

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Equality of Opportunity

WE IN AMERICA have had too much experience of life to fool ourselves into pretending that all men are equal in ability, in character, in intelligence, in ambition. That was part of the claptrap of the French Revolution. We have grown to understand that all we can hope to assure to the individual through government is liberty, justice, intellectual welfare, equality of opportunity, and stimulation to service.

HERBERT HOOVER, *American Individualism* (1922)

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STANLEY YANKUS

IN ENGLAND, the direct sale of gasoline to passing motorists from mobile tank trucks is an established business practice. So, an Australian businessman decided to try it. The company's first tank truck parked in an area alongside the road, advertising gasoline at a 5-pence discount per gallon. The lower price reflected his lower overhead costs, and motorists recognized the bargain. One sale followed another in swift succession.

However, a nearby service station operator, upon learning of this new competition, jumped in his car and sped to the scene. First, he threatened to set the gasoline truck on fire. When this failed to scare his competitor, he threatened shooting, but the tank trucker stood his ground. Eventually, two other service station operators arrived and the three of them parked their cars to block the access of passing motorists to the tank truck. Finally, the police arrived, and the service station operators were told to vacate the premises.

If all the service station operators had been allowed to vote to pass a law prohibiting the sale of gasoline from tank trucks to retail customers, that law would surely have been passed. Whenever someone has an advantage over us in our means of making a living, there is a particularly strong temptation to squash that competitor's advantage by force. Thousands of socialistic laws originate in this manner.

Here is a typical example of socialistic laws already in effect.

Mr. Yankus moved to Australia from Michigan in protest against government suppression of competition in agriculture.

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Doctors who migrate to Australia are prohibited from practicing their profession unless they repeat their studies in Australian medical schools. In one glaring instance, a migrant doctor wrote a textbook which is in current use in Australian medical schools. Yet he was prevented from earning a living as a doctor by restrictive law. The evidence is clear. Local doctors aren't worried about the competence of migrant doctors; they do not want the competition. They personally find it distasteful to their conscience to threaten competitors with fire, shooting, or other forms of violence. So a law is passed empowering the police to fine, jail, or shoot the competitors who disobey.

Few individuals would personally attempt to stick a pin in another person, or give him a kick or a punch. It is clear that such violence has a way of quickly turning upon its instigator. It is not so easy to see that passing laws to suppress competitors would have the same effect. Suppose you had the police power to impose restrictions on another person. And for every restriction you imposed on him, he was empowered to impose a restriction on you. In such a simple situation, it's easy to see that the harm done to others by restricting their creative actions will return to those who inflict it. There would be as little appeal in imposing restrictions under such conditions as there would be in cutting off another man's finger, knowing that your own finger would be cut off the following day. Yet the list of laws suppressing competition is long indeed, simply because few individuals believe there will be a retaliation. The retaliation is often devious and not readily seen or understood. But, it is always there, and eventually will manifest itself one way or another. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

A Postscript from Stanley Yankus

"OUR LOCAL government officials hired a dog catcher. One of the first dogs to be caught was the Mayor's kelpie. The Mayor and other dog owners complained that the dog catcher was 'too efficient.' He who passes laws for others seldom realizes that the others include his wife, his children, and the friends he cherishes most of all."

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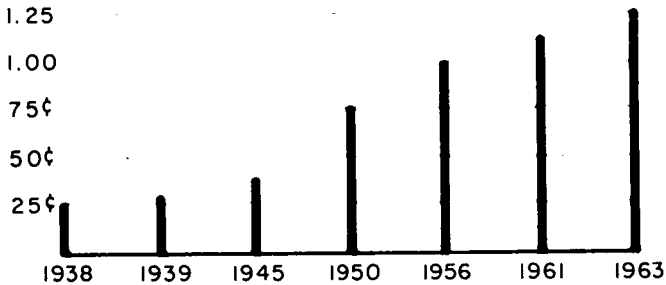

REGARDING THE MINIMUM WAGE

JAMES E. BLAIR

GOVERNMENT REGULATION of wages is, of course, an old practice. In Western Europe there existed a wide range of wage regulations prior to the rise of classical liberalism in the nineteenth century. The North American continent was largely free from government manipulation of wages during the period which saw wages here become the highest in the world; however, from 1912 to 1923 a humanitarian concern for the poor resulted in the establishment of minimum wage laws in fifteen states, Washington, D. C., and Puerto Rico. These laws, when tested in the courts, were declared unconstitutional as violations of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The idea of a minimum wage law was revived with the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, based on the Federal government's power to regulate interstate commerce. The legal minimum wage was set at 25¢ an hour in October, 1938. This was raised to 30¢ in October, 1939 and to 40¢ in 1945. The rate went from 40¢ to 75¢ on January 25, 1950, then to $1.00 on March 1, 1956, and was raised to $1.15 on September 3, 1961 at the same time extending coverage to additional persons at $1.00 an hour. In September, 1963 the minimum wage was increased to $1.25 in all jobs covered prior to 1961 and to $1.15 in jobs added

Dr. Blair is a research chemist in New Jersey.

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in 1961. New York City unsuccessfully attempted to establish a $1.50 minimum wage law in 1964, and "progressives" today are advocating a Federal minimum of $2.00 an hour. Indeed, if it is possible to raise wages to any desired level by governmental decree, one wonders why large segments of the population, especially those in lower paid jobs, are usually excluded from minimum wage coverage, and also why the level is held down to what a typical low income worker is thought to need.

Theory

Before presenting the results of empirical studies made on the effect of minimum wage laws, it is desirable to review the results predicted by the classical theory of economics, to know what to look for in the mass of data published by the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics. Let me hasten to assure the reader at this point that it is scientifically sound to use theory as a guide in the interpretation of data. Indeed, I hope to show that failure to consider data deemed important by theory has led many people to overlook some of the harmful consequences of our present minimum wage law.

Simple application of the law of supply and demand suggests that employers forced to pay higher wages will employ fewer workers. This indicates that the industries affected will respond to minimum wage increases by either laying off existing help, or hiring fewer new workers than they otherwise would have done.

As a consequence of reduced employment opportunity in industries "protected" by the minimum wage coverage, one would expect an influx of workers into industries *not* covered by the law—workers who would "normally" have been employed in the protected industries. Thus, theory predicts that unprotected industries should show increases in employment, or unemployment, or both, depending on the particular industry's ability to absorb the new workers as the minimum wage is raised. As a result of the increased competition for jobs one would also expect that wages in the nonprotected industries would either fall, or else rise more slowly than normal, when the Federal minimum wage is increased.

As the legal minimum is extended to more workers, or is raised higher above the market value of the worker as determined by his productivity, the nonprotected industries will be less able to absorb the workers precluded from employment in the protected

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industries. Hence, one would expect (all else being constant) an increase in the number of persons structurally unemployed. This should be greatest among persons with little skill, or those who are for one reason or another likely to seek employment in the low-pay jobs most affected by the law.

In the normal operation of the market economy, if unemployment develops in a given location (due, for example, to decreases in the demand for a product produced in that area), wages paid in that region tend to be reduced. The lower wages serve as an inducement for industry to move into the area, particularly industry such as textile and light manufacturing plants which do not require highly specialized skills in their workers. Insofar as minimum wage laws tend to reduce the wage differential between "depressed areas" and areas of normal employment, they would be expected to retard the movement of industry into depressed areas.

The "Ricardo Effect"

Another consequence of minimum wage laws (discussed by Ludwig von Mises in *Human Action*, pp. 767-769 of the 1949 Yale edition) is the "Ricardo effect," i.e., a high minimum wage causes employers to substitute machinery for labor because of the increased cost of labor. It has been suggested by some that the Ricardo effect is desirable because it promotes automation. But this neglects the fact that it is usually lack of capital which checks a businessman's endeavor to improve the equipment of his firm. Since the minimum wage law does not create additional capital, the forcing of more capital expenditures in one industry leaves less for other industries where it would have been employed more efficiently, i.e., would have yielded a higher return on investment. Thus, the economy as a whole does not benefit from the Ricardo effect. And while the worker in the protected industry who has higher pay benefits from the law, the worker who is laid off or replaced by a machine may see things in a different light.

The Consequences of Intervention

To summarize, classical economics predicts reduced employment opportunity in protected industries, lower wages and increased employment in nonprotected industries, and more unemployment in both types of industries than would have otherwise been the case. In addition, a shift of capital expenditures from the rest of the economy into some protected industries would be expected. If the unprotected indus-

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tries could not absorb the influx of workers precluded from the protected industries, the decreased employment opportunity in the latter would cause an increase in structural unemployment contributing to the development of "depressed areas." The classical theory does not claim that no worker will benefit, or even that wages in the protected industries cannot be raised for those workers fortunate enough to remain employed.

Proponents of minimum wage laws, or at least all of them that I have read, base their support on the assumption that the classical theory is invalid (if indeed they indicate having thought about it at all) and that employment opportunity will not be affected. In addition, they like to stress the humanitarian purpose of the law. On this point I offer two observations: (1) Since a law is not animate, we should rather talk about the purpose of the legislators who supported it. But this is impossible to determine without telepathy or a truth serum. Perhaps a congressman voted for it because he thought it would help the poor, or because it would aid in his re-election, or because he wants to reduce the likelihood of industry moving into depressed areas instead of into his state or district. (2) The "purpose" is not relevant to the actual effect.

The Data to Prove It

When the Federal minimum wage law was passed in 1938, there were no data available, from this country at least, on the effects of such a law. One could claim that he "knew in his heart" the classical theory is wrong. Now, however, there are both theory and data.

It is sometimes suggested in jest (and even in earnest) that since average wages in this country have increased, and the legal minimum wage rate has increased, the latter caused the former. This argument does not even qualify as *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* since the increases in the legal minimum in each case followed the average wage increase. I, for one, find it difficult to believe that the national average wage rose past the 75¢ per hour mark in the 1940's due to the minimum wage boost to 75¢ per hour in January of 1950. Studies on minimum wage law impact have to be done a bit more carefully than this.

For one thing, since most workers are not directly affected by any given boost in the legal minimum, either because they already earn more than that level or because they are excluded from coverage, the effect can be seen only by studying those industries or geographic areas where a rela-

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tively large portion of workers receive low wages. An intelligent study must consider employment as well as wages, and must study the effect on industries excluded from coverage of the law as well as those included.

Support for the law comes from studies printed in the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics' publication, *Monthly Labor Review,* so let us consider these carefully. The May, 1960, *Monthly Labor Review* (v. 83, no. 5, pp. 472-83) contains the most recent such study entitled "Effects of the $1.00 Minimum Wage in Six Areas 1956-59." The six areas were selected in low-wage regions of the South where the law has a measurable effect. The survey reports average hourly wages in the areas before and after the legal minimum was raised to $1.00 on March 1, 1956, and shows that in the industries covered by the law, average hourly wages jumped by around 10 per cent in most of the six regions. But no data are given on employment and unemployment figures in these regions at this time, and nothing is said about possible reductions in the work force. Indeed, the *average* wage in an industry can be raised by simply firing the lowest-paid employees. Hence, this Bureau of Labor Statistics' study is almost completely useless as an attempt to test the predictions of classical economic theory.

The study does contain some interesting figures, however. Wages in the industries in these six areas which were not covered by the minimum wage law showed an average reduction in one of the areas (Dothan, Alabama), and they either stayed the same or increased by only a per cent or two in the other five areas. This was during an upswing in the economy as a whole, when wages would normally be expected to rise. Thus, the theoretical prediction that wages in unprotected industries will either fall or rise more slowly than usual appears to be supported. It should also be noted that this study shows that in all six areas wages in covered industries were already higher than in uncovered industries before the $1.00 legal minimum went into effect. Thus the law produced an even greater difference in wages between the "high" and "low" pay jobs.

Higher Wages—Fewer Jobs

As a consequence of studies such as the above, *Monthly Labor Review* in an article on the "Results of U. S. Minimum Wage Laws" (March, 1960, pp. 238-42) concludes that we know from experience that it is possible to raise the average pay for workers

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in low-paying industries by minimum wage laws. Classical economic theory doesn't dispute that.

America magazine (April 4, 1959, p. 8) at least deals with an actual prediction of the theory when the editors observed: "In the halting progress of the legal minimum wage from 40¢ an hour in 1939 (sic) to $1.00 today, none of these dire predictions has been fulfilled. There has been no erosion of jobs. . . ." It should be noted in connection with this observation, made with no evidence cited to support it, that since World War II, with the Federal minimum wage law in operation, successive business cycles have each left an increase in unemployment. This pattern has been interrupted only recently, probably by the tax reduction. We have also witnessed a "depressed area problem." Both are in accord with the theoretical predictions of the effect of minimum wage laws, but since there are many factors working in the economy we cannot conclude without detailed studies that these problems are caused by the law. However, detailed studies of the law have been made and I will present some of the results.

Effect on Low-Wage Industries

The effect of raises in the legal minimum on employment in various low-wage industries covered by the law is summarized in *Manpower, Productivity, and Costs* by Professor Yale Brozen of the University of Chicago. In the two years following the establishment of the 25¢ per hour minimum wage rate in October, 1938, 14 per cent of the workers in seamless hosiery plants lost their jobs. Likewise, when the rate was raised to 75¢ an hour employment in southern pine saw mills dropped by 17 per cent. Similar employment drops occurred in the cigar, fertilizer, shirt, footwear, and canning industries. The Bureau of Labor Statistics found an 8 per cent decline in total employment during the year following the increase to $1.00 in the five low-wage industries it chose for detailed examination. The application of the $1.00 minimum wage in 1961 to a certain sector of retail trade brought an 11 per cent decline in employment to that part of retail trade, while retail trade employment in the other sectors and in the nation rose. In each of these cases cited above, while employment in the protected low-wage industries dropped, sales, production, and employment were rising in the United States as a whole, because these figures were compiled during a cyclical upswing.

Another study of the economics of the minimum wage law is the

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Ph.D. thesis of David E. Kaun, Stanford University (1964), which is summarized in *Dissertation Abstracts, 25*, no. 2, p. 881. Kaun studied fourteen low-wage industries, with large segments located in the South (where the direct effects of the minimum wage are greatest). He considered the behavior of wage distributions, employment, and labor force composition, among other things. His list of findings include "relative adverse employment effects occurring where the impact of the minimum wage is greatest," and "increases in the minimum wage appear to have adversely affected employment opportunities for certain classes of labor, namely, Negroes, females, younger workers, and workers living in rural farm areas." He concludes that his analysis "results in conclusions generally in agreement with the implications derived from the competitive hypothesis," i.e., classical theory.

A Cornell University study of the $1.00 minimum wage law on New York retail trade, some of the results of which are given in *Monthly Labor Review*, March, 1960, pp. 238-42, found that the law resulted in

- lower profits to stores
- reduced hours for part-time help
- the laying off of workers, especially "inefficient" ones, which, the study explains, means elderly, handicapped, and part-time help
- reduced store hours, and
- "more careful recruitment of employees," which is explained to mean exclusion of the elderly, Negroes, and other "less acceptable" employees.

The Ph.D. thesis of M. A. Malik, University of Michigan (1963), summarized in *Dissertation Abstracts, 25*, no. 3, p. 1616, reports that of twelve low-wage industries studied in the United States, eleven experienced employment declines in the immediate period of two or three months after the establishment of the $1.00 minimum (remember this was during a general economic upswing). Of these, ten continued to show employment declines a year later. Since there are many other constantly changing factors which influence the employment situation in any given industry, Malik tried to find alternate explanations for the employment reductions in these industries. But in at least five of the industries he could find no other reasonable explanation — the employment decline must be due to the minimum wage law. As expected, the industries where the law had the greatest impact regis-

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tered the largest declines in employment.

The final study I shall cite is the effect of minimum wage law increases on a noncovered industry, household workers, by Yale Brozen in the *Journal of Law and Economics, 5*, pp. 103-109, October, 1962. Studying the period from 1950 to 1962, Professor Brozen's figures, from the Department of Labor and Bureau of the Census, show that in each instance when the minimum wage rate rose, the number of persons employed as household workers rose. The rise was not the result of unemployed household workers finding jobs, since there was also a rise in the percentage of household workers unemployed in each instance (except 1961-62, when the decline in unemployment percentage accounts for only 15 per cent of the rise). This increase in both employment and unemployment in the noncovered industry with raises in the legal minimum wage is exactly as predicted by classical economics, and indicates that workers driven or precluded from jobs in covered industries by the law must seek work in noncovered industries (like household work). Figures given on wage rates in household employment indicate that the wages are lower than they would have been without the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Other Reasons Offered, But They Are Invalid

As evidence of curtailment of employment in low wage industries resulting from the minimum wage law has mounted, some proponents of the law have adopted a new rationale for their position; they say the law is good because it helps to eliminate "sweatshops." Since some industries are covered and some exempt from coverage by the Fair Labor Standards Act, if some "sweatshops" have been eliminated, it has caused people employed in them to find jobs in others, generally at even lower wages. If the law covered *everyone* in the economy, (including babysitters and the like) those who were "saved from sweatshops" would have nowhere to go to find jobs. It is all very well for the "liberal" theorist to claim that a man is better off unemployed than working in a "sweatshop," but shouldn't the decision rest with the man in question?

One additional observation on this point: often a low-paying job gives a person the chance to learn the business or demonstrate his ability, and can lead to a higher-paying position. Consider the number of company presidents and high officials who started their careers in low-paying jobs, and imagine where they might be today if they had been "protected"

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against being offered their first job by a minimum wage law.

Thus, we see that the minimum wage law can raise *average* wages in an industry by reducing the employment of low-wage help. In some respects the effects are like that of a tariff – it is easy to recognize those who benefit from the law, but harder to determine those who suffer from it. We can see the worker who is given a raise because of the increased minimum, but the worker who is laid off when he otherwise would not have been, and the man who is not hired who otherwise would have been, are harder to identify. But while the harmful effects of the tariff are spread over the whole economy, those harmed by the minimum wage law are mostly the very poor, the unemployed, the elderly, and the unskilled. ◈

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IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Grossly Underpaid

AN INVESTIGATOR for the Anti-Poverty Commission was recently asked to check on reports that a farmer was paying his help below-standard wages. He went out to the farm and was introduced to all of the hired hands.

"This here is Gordon," said the farmer. "He milks the cows and works in the fields and he gets $45 a week.

"This is Billy Joe, the other hired man. He works in the fields and tends the stock and he gets $40 a week.

"And this young lady is Sue Ann. She cooks and keeps house and she gets $30 a week, room and board."

"Fair enough so far," said the inspector. "Is there anyone else?"

"Only the half-wit," answered the farmer. "He gets $10 a week, tobacco, room and board."

"Aha," said the inspector. "I'd like to speak to him."

"You're talkin' to him right now," replied the farmer.

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JOHN C. SPARKS

Of POWER

A CLASSROOM DISCUSSION concerned a successful and wealthy industrial leader who had donated most generously to parks, museums, educational institutions, and other worthy endeavors during his lifetime, while expanding his company and the local job opportunities in the community at the same time. Then the teacher posed an interesting question to his high school students. How would the students have spent this man's wealth if they had had the opportunity; and further, was it proper that the spending of such a great amount of wealth should have been decided by one man? Written answers were requested.

There were a few exceptions, but generally the students failed to acknowledge the hard work, long hours, and ingenious ideas that were required over so many years to create the wealth now theoretically in the hands of each student. Instead, only the second half of the old saying, "easy come, easy go," was evident in the imaginative spending spree. Unaware of the responsibility of creating wealth, they also lacked an awareness of the responsibility of using it. Obviously, most of the students thought they could have "spread" his wealth in a manner that would have accomplished more than the good achieved by the industrialist. Many suggested that the government could better have spent his wealth than he did.

One student, however, whose wisdom belied her years, wrote that the wealthy leader, who had built up such a successful company, produced good jobs, and amassed a substantial fortune, evidently knew better than others how to use his wealth. Besides,

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she added, no matter what others thought about his use of his riches, it was no concern of theirs. It was his property, and he alone had the right to decide its use.

At one time or another, most of us doubtless have daydreamed about what we could do with a million dollars – not how we would study, learn, work, sweat, labor, and save to create the fortune – but only how we would spend it *if* we were suddenly to come into possession of it.

If I were king – *if* I were president – *if* I were rich – *if* I were manager of the Yankees baseball team – *if* I were calling the plays for the Cleveland Browns' professional football team. . . . What self-entertainment it is to speculate in this manner!

While it may be tempting to imagine oneself qualified to assume one of these positions of honor, it is convenient to forget that one has not paid the exacting toll to get there; and further, that one is not actually responsible for the consequences of decisions made only in fantasy.

Dividing the Pie

In a similar fashion, the government interventionist (socialist, collectivist) tries to enter the picture, at the top, after the goods have been produced by others. In this case, the speculation is not innocent, passive fun but a vicious form of covetousness that would project the "if-I-had-the-power" ideas into reality.

These advocates of compulsory collectivism seldom find fault with the productive prowess emanating from a private-ownership, free enterprise economy. There is no suggestion from them how the owners of factories can produce more. No idea is presented that will improve quality, lower costs, and shorten production time. Not one of them comes up with the plan that encourages a worker to make his actual output equal the potential of his ability and effort.

The collectivist has no objection to the unbelievably huge quantities and varieties of material goods and services pouring out of the factories and into the market places of the nation every day. Compared with the quality and quantity of a century ago, or even a decade ago, he will concede the fantastic abundance flowing from a free economy. This is not his quarrel. More than likely, however, *it is his attraction.* A nation of great wealth has greater attraction to the collectivist than a poor nation where little is available to divide. Given a choice between two pies of different sizes, he prefers to divide the larger pie. Not at all concerned with making the pie larger, he wants only to

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divide it in a manner he thinks just; and the bigger the pie, the more powerful and important he feels.

All Were Failures

One might wonder why the modern twentieth-century collectivist does not try to introduce his ideals to his fellow men by providing true-life illustrations of the wonders of collectivism in experimental communities. Almost any up-to-date manufacturing company that develops a new product will first test the product and its acceptance by the public in a limited number of marketing areas before attempting to sell it on a nationwide scale. Failure had best be ascertained sooner rather than later if disastrous losses are to be avoided by the company. On the other hand, successful promotion can better be planned for national introduction after experiencing satisfactory results in the test markets. The only sensible way, according to these manufacturing leaders, is to test the product on a small scale first.

Not for the modern collectivists, however! Collectivism, wherein the individual is pushed aside for the common good, has been tried repeatedly over the centuries in great variety – monarchies, empires, socialist states, welfare states, fascism, people's democracies – to name a few of the forms of political despotism that have repeatedly deprived man of his full heritage of freedom. Today's collectivist is not about to show his wares in anything resembling a test market. And with good reason. The collectivist is bored with the hard facts of economic life. He does not want the responsibility to *create* abundance. Production tires him, and well it might, because the collectivist principle – from each according to ability, to each according to need – is not an incentive for anyone to work harder or strive for the better idea or the method that will produce more material goods.

During the nineteenth century, numerous voluntary experimental collectivist communities were tried, and failed. Many of these experiments in the United States were primarily religious in nature, including the earlier Plymouth Colony. The economic aspect was usually secondary and of concern only as a means to fulfill the spiritual objectives of the members of these societies. Nevertheless, after initial zeal, the good producers soon tired of being ill-fed. They left. They chose not to be responsible for feeding those who would rather be idle. In those communities where the experiment was primarily economic rather than religious, the com-

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munes folded after only two or three years.

It should be remembered that under these experiments of voluntary collectivism, no walls or curtains of iron prevented the skillful and ambitious producers from packing up their families and leaving. No guards stood armed to shoot those who had enough of collectivism. They simply left. The collectivist officials, the zealous members, the idlers, and the unskilled who remained thus were faced with a choice – collectivism and poverty on one hand, to which the older members sometimes did not object, or a return to individual ownership and responsibility.

Two Reasons Why the Local Experiments Could Not Succeed

It would be pointless for the modern collectivist to attempt to prove the glowing dreams derived from a voluntary experimental community, because none has worked successfully in the past and none will work in the future – for two reasons. Membership in such an experimental community is *voluntary*. A member can dissociate himself with the minimum of inconvenience. And if he is worth his salt, he will. Obviously then, the modern collectivist cannot afford to permit any liberty to choose. Too few would prefer collectivism if they actually understood the system. Therefore, the people who do not like it cannot be allowed to quit the national program. Good producers *must* produce for the benefit of the unskilled, indolent, and lazy – as well as for those administrating the entire system.

The other reason why the experimental collectivist communities folded was the ready comparison between the results of collectivism and the results of private ownership, as seen in neighboring towns and cities perhaps only a few miles away. This detrimental comparison can be avoided only when the collectivist principle is adopted nationwide on a compulsory basis. The collectivist cannot afford to let the public see the results of his ideas at work, compared side-by-side with the results of private ownership and individual initiative. The comparison would reveal the collectivist shortcomings all too quickly. Therefore, collectivist laws must be adopted throughout the nation so that no comparisons exist.

People Can Be Misled

It seems unlikely that any people would accept a form of government in their communities that embraced collectivist principles. Would the populace of any civilized nation accede willingly and knowingly to despotism and reg-

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imentation, particularly after having tasted freedom? One would expect them to be on guard, especially against any tendency to drift in that direction. Yet, paradoxically, what is impossible for the collectivist to achieve on a small scale in an experiment seems to be more readily attainable on the broad scale of an entire nation. This does not mean that collectivism can successfully bring about an abundant, happy, creative life. It cannot any more do this on the larger national scale than on the smaller community scale. But the public can be misled into it, especially when no comparison is readily available to show up the defects in a nation of complete collectivism.

This is freedom's great danger. This is collectivism's peculiar opportunity. Persons are attracted by the paternalistic-government promises even though they are not achievable.

Strangely enough, many of the advocates of these programs are not schemers or conspirators attempting to hoodwink the people, but sincere persons with the best of intentions. They honestly believe their system of compulsion will benefit mankind. They are frightened by the imagined "chaos" of millions of people, each one making hundreds of decisions every day of his life.

Let us once more be reminded that the collectivist does not like comparisons. Even in a country such as ours that suffers a milder case of the collectivist disease, the comparison of a government enterprise with a private enterprise of like nature will be carefully rigged to favor the former. For example, TVA electric power is represented as being less costly to produce than the electricity of private companies, although the TVA pays few, if any, of the tax costs for governmental "services." Low-interest or interest-free financing are simply ignored in the comparisons.

Eliminating Competition

The next step beyond a "rigged" government - private comparison, is the elimination by law of the private method altogether. The post office is an example. Only the government postal system is lawful; none other is permitted to deliver mail. Government education has not yet reached this point, although there have been suggestions to ban private education below the college level. In certain states, private insurance companies are prohibited from supplying workman's compensation insurance to employers. Only the state insurance "company" is permitted to operate.

Thus, no one can justifiably ac-

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cuse a collectivist of being a good sport. He wants the rules of the game rigged so that no others can show up collectivism as the weak, incapable, unproductive, and immoral system it is. The system he advocates will not permit a contest on neutral ground and under uniform rules if it can be helped. The collectivist wants four strikes, while he restricts the private ownership competitor to two strikes, or one, or preferably *none!* It is not surprising then that no comparison *at all* is the preferred position. After six years of Castro, some Cubans are losing the sense of comparison. One Cuban parent says: "Despite what we parents tell them, the young people are beginning to forget what life was like before 1959. They don't remember what it's like to live well – or what freedom really means."[1]

In order to guard against collectivism, it must be revealed for what it is, a system that removes freedom of individual choice, that gives great power to a group of despots, that erodes the mind of accurate historical experience, and that will cause mankind to degenerate rather than climb toward greater material and spiritual levels.

Politically-elected officials in their government capacities cannot produce abundance. The most powerful political office of the world is incapable of producing a high level of material wealth, or of waging successfully a so-called war on poverty. Yet people, like sheep, are still swallowing these absurd claims of the political medicine man.

Increased productivity is the only antidote for poverty. To achieve such increase, all men must be free to be creative with their ideas and efforts. The free market stands ever ready to reward and provide the incentive to any who would achieve power – purchasing power – by the honest sweat of his brow and the inventiveness of his mind. ◈

[1] "What Castro Is Doing to Cuba," *U.S. News & World Report*, LVIII (March 1, 1965), 70.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Equality

NO SOCIETY can rightly offer less than equality before the law; but there can be no equality of condition between youth and age or between the sexes; there cannot be equality even between friends. The rule is that each shall act where he is strong; the assignment of identical roles produces first confusion and then alienation, as we have increasing opportunity to observe.

RICHARD M. WEAVER, *Ideas Have Consequences*

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DEFINING LIBERTY

An Analysis of Its Three Elements

WENDELL J. BROWN

Abraham Lincoln said the American people were much in want of a good definition of the word *liberty*. Mr. Brown has accepted that challenge, and to define what liberty is he divides it into three elements and analyzes each. He writes of the goals liberty seeks to achieve, the procedures by which it moves, and the underlying faiths that sustain it.

SOCRATES thought that trial lawyers were too much in a hurry to be good philosophers. True enough, there are witnesses and documentary evidence to be examined. Trial lawyers do not have much time for the creation of philosophical systems. *A priori* thinking is usually confined to what we do when we guess what the law is before we take down the books to see what it is.

Lincoln was a trial lawyer. He used abstract exposition, but not for its own sake. Rather it provided him with a sense of direction during a period when there were enough hot heads around to satisfy the most belligerent. During that period one hundred years ago he took time to say: "The world has never had a good definition of the word *liberty*, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one."

Different from other forms of life, *Homo sapiens* does occasionally have use for concepts. Liberty is one of them. The word *liberty* is its symbol. Of late, I have not seen the word identified by its basic elements in one short piece. That is the intent of this short excursion.

In the context of a free society there are three elements in the

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concept of liberty. One of these is what liberty seeks to accomplish. The second is how to accomplish it procedurally. And the third is its underlying faiths.

I.

WHAT LIBERTY SEEKS TO ACCOMPLISH

In terms of what a free society seeks to accomplish, liberty is five freedoms for each individual: (1) freedom to come and go, (2) equality and justice before the law, (3) security of property, (4) freedom of speech, and (5) freedom of conscience. There are many other names for these five individual freedoms – freedom of the press, freedom of expression and opinion, freedom of religion, freedom of association, right of habeas corpus, right of assembly, right of jury trial, etc. But these five individual freedoms are the "blessings of liberty" that constitute the first element of the word.

The active and politically minded members of a free society may use a "more or less" liberal or an absolute "either-or" approach, but these five individual freedoms *are* what a free society seeks to accomplish.

The intent of a free society is to keep the use of all man-made power within the periphery of these five individual freedoms. This requires that the activities provided for in our laws have to be limited by the inherent give-and-take requirements contained in each of these five individual freedoms. We do not expect either these five individual freedoms or their conflicts with each other to "wither away," and we know that we could not have them where the state is everything, or where there is no state.

II.

PROCEDURAL WAYS TO REACH THE GOALS

Liberty is a political sense of direction. Therefore, liberty is also a current process based on its procedures and underlying faiths. The second element in the concept of liberty is identified in the debatable area of the best procedural ways to accomplish it.

When I was a boy in a small Indiana town, the statement was made with impunity by one of our articulate statesmen that, "what this country needs is a good five-cent cigar." The popular inference intended by that otherwise irrelevant comment was that we could leave the processes of liberty alone and still have it. Today we are forced not to expect our procedures to work that perfectly. At every turn there is the requirement that an overwhelming number of us accept the responsibility

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our procedures impose; at every turn we have learned to expect that some will not.

Universal Suffrage and Majority Rule

There is no one procedural formula applicable to all nations alike for the attainment of the five individual freedoms of liberty. The newborn of each nation come into a society which has institutions, mores, laws, and habits which they could not choose. The people of each nation have to custom-build their own procedures and institutions. They are not conceived in a cultural vacuum. In a nation that would have them, there must be a dominant number who have already made the convictions, morals, and habits of free men their own.

The force of public opinion controls. Different from the military practices and propaganda power of totalitarianism, communistic or other, it would be a contradiction of terms to say or think that liberty could be thrust upon the people of a nation. Physical power can be thrust upon the people of a nation, but not the power of liberty. Men are not persuaded, save they persuade themselves. The inspiration and perspiration that create and maintain a free state must ultimately move from within or not at all.

During the 2,500 years of recorded history there has never been a dominantly free society without some form of self-government. Historically, self-government has been a common denominator of all dominantly free societies. The statement that the perpetuation of the five freedoms of individual liberty requires universal suffrage and majority rule is of such persuasive power that even though we know that the majority has to be a responsible majority, I believe that we have to take that gamble. Procedurally we take that gamble aided by a written constitution.

A Written Constitution

In the United States our political procedures are realistically grounded. Many years before Castro, Hitler, and Mussolini, and in fact many years before Lord Acton said it, our Founding Fathers were aware that "power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Accordingly, under our procedures we seek to accomplish the five freedoms of individual liberty by a representative republic under an organic written law. By its terms and in fact our Federal Constitution is the "supreme Law of the Land." It provides for a diffusion of delegated power into judicial, executive, and legislative branches, a system of checks and balances, a

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co-ordination of Federal with state rights and a Bill of Rights, all with the power to amend by orderly procedures. We have set up these procedural odds in favor of a free society.

Other free societies may prefer an unwritten constitution, but we believe that a written one is the best procedural way for us to accomplish the five freedoms of individual liberty. When we make it work for us, we avoid a concentration of arbitrary power, both private and public.

Thus far, we have found that when our written Constitution is interpreted by use of the cardinal rules of construction applied to legal instruments, it is a powerful tool in the maintenance of the five freedoms of individual liberty and the right to an equal ballot. This attitude toward our Constitution does not result in complete agreement, but that does not perturb me. On the contrary, I do scare easily when I read a majority opinion of our United States Supreme Court which shows an attitude toward our written Constitution that allows it to be interpreted without any real use of the cardinal rules of construction of written instruments. For example, such is the accusation of Justice Harlan in his dissenting opinion in Reynolds *v.* Sims, 377 U. S. 533 (1964), when he writes:

> . . . It is meaningless to speak of constitutional "development" when both the language and history of the controlling provisions of the Constitution are wholly ignored.[1]

Our procedures to maintain a free society do not allow for that attitude to become a habit. In the same dissenting opinion Justice Harlan says why this is so:

> . . . The Constitution is an instrument of government, fundamental to which is the premise that in a diffusion of governmental authority lies the greatest promise that this Nation will realize liberty for all its citizens. This Court, limited in function in accordance with that premise, does not serve its high purpose when it exceeds its authority, even to satisfy justified impatience with the slow workings of the political process. For when in the name of constitutional interpretation, the Court *adds* something to the Constitution that was deliberately excluded from it, the Court in reality substitutes its view of what should be so for the amending process.[2]

In actual litigated controversies there have been more than 4,000 decisions authored by our United States Supreme Court which have interpreted and applied its less than 7,000 words – more than 50,000 pages of interpretative decisions. Some of these controversies

[1] 377 U. S. at 591.
[2] 377 U. S. at 625.

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have stemmed from the use of legislative power, some from the use of executive power, some from the use of judicial power — and all from a claimed usurpation of public or private power. But in each new justiciable controversy we, the people[3], return to our written Constitution for the tools of advocacy of political liberty, including the five freedoms of individual liberty. The periphery of separate legal controversies has thus been procedurally set.

The advocates of liberty are alert to the interpretative fact that the "interstices" in our Constitution are a part of that document in the same way that the interspaced cracks in a sidewalk are a part of a sidewalk. It is an entity and its parts are to be interpreted and applied in that way. The process of staying on the sidewalk, even for the sane and sober, is not uncontroversial. Still, I prefer having a written constitution to doing without one.

An Independent Judiciary

A paradox in our procedures to secure liberty is that an independent judiciary, our United States Supreme Court, without purse or sword, has a limited power of coercion. Justice Jackson reminds us that decisional law could not exist except "where men are free . . . and judges independent." This interdependence makes it doubly clear that (1) the zeal that a judge feels for what the law ought to be has to be tempered with a zeal for what the law is; and (2) a practical test of a free society is the willingness of its administrators to lend the judges their aid, and of its people to obey their constitutional decisions until changed by the court itself under its two-edged, self-imposed weapon of *stare decisis* or by amendment of the Constitution.

Learned Hand once wrote that "liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it; no constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it."[4] The underlying issue, I believe, for a free society to face head on is one of the acceptability or nonacceptability of a faith that there are progressively higher laws that can be merged into man-made laws under orderly procedures. When Charles Evans Hughes, a great trial lawyer, stated that the Constitution is what the Supreme Court says it is, he merely stated the hard fact that the trial lawyer has to face once the Supreme Court has spo-

[3] Including trial lawyers and the members of the United States Supreme Court in most instances.

[4] HAND, THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY 144 (1944).

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ken unequivocally. In a free society the procedural adaptation of liberty is not the sole responsibility of the three branches of our government. The supreme power and, therefore, the supreme political responsibility for the attainment of liberty resides in the people. There, too, are its underlying faiths, without which the five freedoms of liberty are unattainable with any procedures that we may devise.

III.

THE UNDERLYING FAITHS OF LIBERTY

The third element in the concept of liberty is its underlying faiths. My quest at this point is not for absolute certainty, but to understand, the best I am able, the underlying faiths of liberty. I venture to think that a more ambitious quest would fade away into a copiousness of words. The *why* of liberty is too deeply related to the *why* of life for me to expect to do more.

When I think of ultimates for the human race or for just me, there is no certainty. Harold Macmillan, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, recently made the comment that the only thing of which he is sure is that there is a God. Justice Holmes reminded us, "Every year if not every day we have to wager our salvation upon some prophecy based on an imperfect knowledge."[5] This mixture of ego and humility is not an uncommon asset of the advocate of liberty; it could never be found in an advocate of any political faith that it premised on infallibility.

There is a spirit of conciliation between reasonable men when we consider the finer reaches of the five individual freedoms which liberty seeks to accomplish. Also, there is a spirit of conciliation between reasonable men when we think of the best procedural ways to achieve liberty. But there can be no spirit of compromise in its underlying faiths. We believe in them or we do not believe in them. If we believe in them, we cannot be diverted from them or allow them to be destroyed.

The strength, the compassion, the courage and the intelligence behind the concept of liberty evolve from its underlying faiths. These underlying faiths either move from within ourselves or not at all. There is no formula for them and there is no certainty. The creed of liberty leaves all supposedly final philosophical formulas with an open end. It does not answer the why of life. Partly for that reason it has a chance to survive without changes in the sense

[5] Abrams *v.* United States, 250 U. S. 624 at 630 (1919) (dissenting opinion).

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of direction that is its underlying essence.

The creed of liberty, I believe, can be stated in one fairly short paragraph as:

> A living organism differs from any mechanical device that man can conceive in that it forms itself and keeps itself in working order and activity. Man is a living organism. Biological and psychosocial cultural man is different from most or all other living organisms. Man has an inner power of choice that has to be kept alive or he ceases to live as such. With liberty he keeps himself in working order and activity. Without it he does not. It is, therefore, an operational need in the process of living of a human entity.

This is the basic approach to the underlying faiths of liberty. But I cannot stop with a statement which depends upon the word *liberty* itself. The more than semantic question persists: "What are the underlying faiths in the concept of liberty?"

In the United States it is our cultural habit to take it impatiently for granted that we know the answer to that question. Not merely that we would rather be thought blasé than to be thought naïve. Rather we feel that we have an intuitive sense of liberty that needs no further identification. We impatiently sense that when we refer to liberty, we refer to that essential element in social, economic, and political life by which man is enabled to keep himself in working order and activity. This is essential, but it is not, I believe, the totality of our faiths in a free society.

After several "pace-offs," John Dewey decided that one fairly accurate way to conceive of the human mind is by reference to its ability to "resolve doubts as such." Human beings are endowed with the power to see that doubts are doubts, and to resolve some of them, rightly or wrongly. The first doubt for me to resolve in my search for all the underlying faiths of liberty is to determine what a faith is. I shouldn't take it for granted that I know what faiths in general are.

A faith is a "rule of conduct," but that answer is a part of the objective effect of a faith that we already have and does not completely identify what a faith is.

Different from a mathematical proposition, a communicable faith, before it can limit and govern our group actions, I suggest, must have an emotional appeal as well as a valid rational appeal. Liberty makes good use of the feelings of courage and compassion, for liberty begins when the weak become strong and ends when the strong lose their sense of compassion. The statement that emotion and

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reason are a house divided is only a metaphor. Man functions as an entity. He is at once an emotional, instinct-packed, volitional, physical, and sometimes rational entity. The underlying faiths of liberty, like all faiths, must be a part of all of these characteristics functioning together, inasmuch as each man has to function that way if he functions at all.

Liberty is not a mathematical formula. Much less is it an artifact, a product of human workmanship that we can pick up with our hands and examine for color, size, and content. We cannot point to it, weigh it, or count it. To prove it we cannot explode it over the deserts of New Mexico. It is a belief system in the process of biological and psychosocial living, and a belief system requires a meeting of the minds about a faith which we have in common and which each of us has made his own. Before we can say that our faiths in liberty are a part of us, we must be able to say that "we feel them," "we think them," and "we act them." That is what faiths are.

Liberty Lies Within the Man

The core of individual liberty is a matter of faith, a faith that there is an inner life for each individual, the liberation of which will produce results, the only results over which we human beings have any control. These results are a part of a stream of life, but the advocate of liberty believes that they can be credited or debited to an individual account – an account without an infallible bookkeeper.

The advocate of liberty believes that by the use of the individual inner drives of compassion, courage, reason, and intelligence, mankind need not inevitably destroy itself and that the course of mankind can continue. He believes that liberty, if he has it, is in the process of living and never at the end of a rainbow of wishful thinking. He believes that it is complementary of the orderly laws of cause and effect, of probability and of chance, of which man is not completely informed. It is complementary of them because it rests in part upon the faith that each individual is endowed by his Creator with some power of individual choice.

The great contempory contributions of others in his scientific field caused Einstein to question what he could claim for his own. But with all his skepticism or humility, he never lost faith in his sense of selfhood. Each advocate of liberty believes that the responsive and positive chords in his life must be struck by him.

What are the underlying faiths

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of liberty? A faith in the God-given and yet spontaneous spark of creativity in each of us which makes us different from all others; a faith that this spark of creativity can be preserved in its totality by just laws applicable to all equally; a faith in the worthiness of its preservation; a faith in the practicality of its preservation by the people themselves – these are the underlying faiths of liberty.

The division between scientific thought and critical philosophical thought, between observable objectivity and value judgments, though useful, does not cause one to think that man, individual man, does not have to function as a separate entity of energy if he is going to function at all, or that any political system can evade that fact and survive.

The discoveries of nuclear physics make it imperative that we, all mankind, use value judgments that are universal. We cannot throw senseless rhetoric or eliminative bombs at each other and expect the species *Homo sapiens* to survive in perpetuity.

More than Mere Words

Although there is easily observable evidence to the contrary, political liberty is not a mere play on words that each side of current controversies uses for its rhetorical effect. Rather, by its three specific elements it is a synthesis of thought and action, a concept that can be accepted or rejected. It is not as certain, perhaps, as the concept that God made little green apples, but thus far the only perceivable bridge between science and philosophy and between nations and between men that will preserve the life and hopes of the individual and of mankind, is the concept of liberty – the grand concept of the dignity and brotherhood of man under a just and cosmic God.

"Where liberty dwells, There is my country." These words, uttered by John Milton, the blind poet who yet could inwardly see, may have been words of pride or words of yearning. For mankind today they are optimistic words – words of hope. They suggest a sense of direction based on the three elements of liberty in the context of a free society. In a world in which man must seek his salvation with imperfect knowledge, could there be a better way?

It is the only way that I can see that will give my grandchildren a chance to decide for themselves the course their lives shall take in a free society. Right now they kick about going to bed at night, but I think they are tough enough to handle their share of responsibility in a free society when their time comes. ◈

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THE GREAT COMMUNIST SCHISM

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

BETWEEN 1917 and 1949, within the span of a generation, communism achieved a leap from the status of the small, little-known political sect in the Russian revolutionary movement to a system that dominated the lives of one-third of the population of the world, including the Soviet Union, mainland China, and the considerable area in Eastern and Central Europe which had been subjected to communism as a result of Soviet military invasion and occupation. Not since the early sweep of the Mohammedans from the deserts of Arabia over the Near and Middle East and North Africa had a new doctrine acquired power so swiftly on such a large scale.

What made the success of communism seem more formidable was its apparent concentration of power and authority in Moscow. Stalin had only to whisper a command and it was translated into action not only in the countries under Russian military and police control, but also by the communist parties in America and Western Europe, where they had not yet gained power. An article in a French communist publication was sufficient to cause the American communists to discard the comparatively moderate leadership of Earl Browder and substitute the more violent, intransigent William Z. Foster.

The communists seemed to have

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discovered and applied, first in Russia, then in the satellite countries of Eastern Europe and in China, a magic formula for holding power, once a successful revolution had been brought about, whether by internal collapse, civil war, or military intervention from outside. This formula, which also served Hitler, Mussolini, and lesser fascist dictators very well (it was by no means the only feature common to communism and fascism in practice) might be summarized as follows: unlimited propaganda plus unlimited terror.

After a communist take-over, all means of information, entertainment, and instruction — the schools, the press, the radio, theater, and the arts — were pressed into the service of glorifying the all-powerful state and the ruling Communist Party. It was expected that this would prove especially effective with a younger generation that had no knowledge of foreign countries, no knowledge of previous conditions.

And, for those who did not accept the propaganda, there was ruthless unrelenting terror, ranging from loss of a job, denial of the right to publish writings, to the more extreme measures: arrest, exile to forced labor, execution before a firing squad. Diabolical as this technique was, from the standpoint of the freedom and dignity of the individual human being, it was also diabolically effective as a means of organizing and regimenting people and repressing and discouraging any organized resistance and dissent.

Dissension Sown Abroad, But Prohibited Domestically

So, while the communists used every conceivable trick and device to extend their sway by setting class against class, race against race, group against group in non-communist lands, they insulated themselves against movements of protest and revolt in the countries they ruled by this steady application of the method of propaganda plus terror. With this were linked two characteristics of all communist regimes, regardless of other differences: one-party political dictatorship and economic collectivism in the sense that the state, in one form or another, became the sole employer, operating through various agencies all mines, factories, farms, stores, and other economic enterprises. It is difficult for one who has not lived under it to imagine the crushing weight of concentrated power represented by a state which combines the political power of the most absolute despots of the past with the economic mastery represented by a monop-

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oly of possession of all economic enterprises.

Imagine a government operating without any of the safeguards for the individual written into the United States Constitution, directing the contents of every newspaper, of every radio broadcast and, on top of this, managing all the economic production facilities, with the functions of management and labor organization alike controlled by the single ruling party. That affords a fair picture of what the communist state is like and of how difficult it is to organize opposition or resistance to its monstrous grasp.

Signs of Internal Weakness

Yet, with communism, as with Mohammedanism and other world-conquering movements, internal schism among the communist states has clearly set in, creating difficulties which were not foreseen in the first years of the Russian Revolution which Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin envisaged as merely the first step toward world domination through world revolution. The first breach in the granite façade of international communism occurred in 1948, when Josip Broz Tito, the communist dictator of Yugoslavia, seceded from the overlordship of Moscow.

Tito's breach with Moscow did not mean that Yugoslavia ceased to be a communist dictatorship. But the Yugoslav dictator resented the idea that his power, even his life, might depend on the reports of the Soviet agents whom Stalin sent into Yugoslavia to spy on and supervise his activities. A veteran of the communist movement, he had built up such a tightly organized political machine in Yugoslavia that he was able successfully to defy Stalin's efforts to destroy his regime by all means short of war, including economic blockade and incitations to subversion. Sitting on the fence politically between East and West, although maintaining a generally "anti-imperialist" attitude in foreign relations and retaining a somewhat modified, maverick communism at home, Tito received large quantities of United States aid (considerably reduced in recent years). He also extracted some Soviet help when Stalin's successors decided to restore more normal state relations between Moscow and Belgrade, although continuing to censure Tito as a revisionist more or less severely when matters of communist theory were under discussion.

Stalin's death in 1953 was followed by several signs, in the Soviet Union and abroad, that communism was not the impregnable frozen fortress it had seemed to be. There were anticommunist re-

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volts in East Germany in 1953, in Poland and in Hungary in 1956. These were all put down, the one in Hungary after a heroic, tragically uneven struggle by the majority of the Hungarian people, with workers and students taking a leading part, against the superior arms of the Red Army. But at least the myth of happy acquiescence of the peoples under communist rule was destroyed. And the Poles, who proceeded more discreetly than the Hungarians and did not push matters to the point of an armed clash, obtained the elimination of some of the more unpopular Soviet agents and of some of the cruder signs of Russian domination, especially distasteful because of bitter Polish memories of Russian oppression before the First World War.

Moscow vs. Peiping

Then, gradually but unmistakably, came the rift between the two communist giants, the Soviet Union and Red China. Because relations between Moscow and Peiping were like an iceberg, mostly concealed from public view, and because there were intermittent efforts, on the Soviet side, to coax the Chinese back into the orthodox communist fold, it is hard to set a definite date for a breach that also produced important repercussions in the satellite states of Eastern Europe.

Perhaps the exclusion of the Soviet Union, as a "white" nation, from the Bandung conference of Afro-Asian countries in 1955 marked the beginning of the disagreement. Khrushchev's belated repudiation and denunciation of Stalin in 1956 did not appeal to the Chinese communists. When the latter, by bombardment and threats, attempted to oust the Chinese nationalists from the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu in 1958, Khrushchev offered only verbal support.

With the passing of time, differences of national interest and even of interpretation of communist ideology between the Soviet Union and China became more and more evident. In two ways the former is a "have," the latter a "have not" country. The Soviet Union today controls, directly or indirectly, far more territory than the Empire of the Czars. There is no unredeemed area with a Russian population. And, although economic well-being is far below the standards of the United States and Western Europe, the Soviet Union has built up a considerable industrial plant, which it would not like to expose to the hazards of nuclear war. So, apart from lapses like the threat to West Berlin and the injection of mis-

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siles into Cuba, both of which ended in failure, Khrushchev and his successors so far have displayed a tendency to avoid sharp collisions with the United States and to rely on such methods as subversive propaganda and building up what they believe will be a superior economic system (not a likely prospect in view of the results to date) to sap and finally overthrow the capitalist order.

China is a much poorer country than the Soviet Union, probably at least a generation behind in economic development. It regards as a major foreign policy objective the reconquest of the island of Formosa, seat of the Chinese Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek. This objective, however, cannot be realized so long as Formosa is guarded by United States sea and air power. With less to lose in war, the Chinese, at least in words, are much more militant in preaching the doctrine of war against imperialism. And they resent Soviet unwillingness to "share the wealth" by giving them liberal economic aid, and Soviet unwillingness to back them up in military adventures against Formosa and India.

By 1960 Moscow-Peiping relations had become so strained that the Soviet government abruptly pulled out of China hundreds of Soviet scientific and technical advisers who had been helping with many new Chinese industrial installations. These were left in various stages of incomplete construction; the Soviet advisers packed up their blueprints and departed, leaving the Chinese to cope with the situation as best they could.

Heated Words

It would go far beyond the bounds of a brief article to cite all the polemical exchanges between the two big communist powers. But two quotations show how envenomed the tone had become in recent years. A Soviet message to Peiping of October 18, 1963, read as follows:

"Serious differences are being used in Peiping to unfold a campaign against the fraternal parties, unprecedented in its scope, which is sharply hostile in tone. . . . All the resources at the disposal of a large state have been set in motion to wage a struggle within the communist movement. . . . Enormous harm is being done and every communist is obliged to do everything possible to stop the development of events in the direction Peiping wants to give them. If this is not done in time, the consequences for the entire communist movement may be extremely grave."

The Chinese response took the

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form of contemptuous personal abuse of Khrushchev:

"The United States imperialists have not become beautiful angels in spite of Khrushchev's Bible-reading and psalm-singing. They have not turned into compassionate Buddhas in spite of Khrushchev's prayers and incense burning. However hard Khrushchev tries to serve the United States imperialists, they show not the slightest appreciation. . . . They continue to slap Khrushchev in the face and reveal the bankruptcy of his ridiculous theories prettifying imperialism."

Here one comes close to the root of the feud. The Chinese are claiming for themselves the role of champions of Leninist communist orthodoxy and accusing the Russians (the charge is spelled out in detail in many other Chinese publications and communications) of slackness in the revolutionary cause, of "revisionism," the most insulting word in the communist political vocabulary.

A Major Cleavage

What has happened is more serious than a dispute between the two largest communist parties. It is a schism in the whole international communist movement, some parties siding with the Russians, some with the Chinese. The Chinese appeal is especially strong in Asia, where the communists of Indonesia, Japan, North Korea, Burma, and New Zealand are in the Chinese camp. This is apparently also true for the majority of the Indian communists. And the Chinese seem to be ahead in a bitter struggle for influence in North Vietnam. China has also acquired a European satellite in tiny Albania and has launched splitting movements in the parties of Italy, France, and Belgium. The Chinese have also been very active in Africa, competing with the Soviet Union in attracting students and bribing African government officials in the newly independent states. In Africa the Chinese emphasize the color line, pointing out that the Russians are, after all, a white people.

Most of the European communist parties have remained loyal to Moscow, but have taken advantage of the Moscow-Peiping rift to win more political and economic autonomy. Khrushchev was unable, despite many efforts, to convene an international conference for the purpose of excommunicating the Chinese Reds from the international communist movement. In Stalin's time Moscow's position as the sole center of the international communist movement was unchallenged. Now the conception of "polycentrism" put forward by the recently deceased

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Italian communist leader, Palmiro Togliatti, has made considerable headway.

Rumanian Deviation

Because the Soviet communist leaders are under heavy pressure from the schismatic Chinese, they are in no position to impose strict discipline on the East European satellites. The liberalization of living conditions in Hungary, the sweeping departures from rigid state planning in Czechoslovakia, most of all, perhaps, the demonstrations of increased political and economic freedom from Moscow in Rumania are all significant straws in the wind.

Indeed, Rumania has put on a pretty good exhibition of the role of "the mouse that roared." Rich in salable oil and wheat, the Rumanians pressed on with steel development and trade with the West, despite Khrushchev's attempts to persuade them to hold back on industrial development and remain a supplier of raw materials to other communist-ruled countries. And about a year ago, in the spring of 1964, the Rumanian Workers (Communist) Party published a remarkably independent manifesto, which would have been unthinkable in the Stalin era.

This manifesto began by offering a number of criticisms and recommendations to the Soviet and Chinese parties, with the professed objective of mediating their conflict. Then it repudiated in strong language the idea that some supranational planning body, such as the COMECON (the economic association of the communist-ruled states) should dictate to these states their proper lines of economic development and asserted Rumania's economic independence in the following terms:

"It is up to every Marxist-Leninist party, it is a sovereign right of each socialist state, to elaborate, choose or change the forms and methods of socialist construction.... No party has or can have a privileged place, or can impose its line or opinions on other parties."

Dangers to the West

Polycentrism does not change the nature of communist regimes. These continue to deny political and civil liberties that are taken for granted in free countries. They retain strong political and economic ties with Moscow. They may be expected to continue voting with the Soviet Union and against the United States on most issues that come up in the United Nations. The governments in the East European states remain alien, imposed from without, and, in a big crisis, would look to Mos-

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cow for support against any insurgent movements of their own peoples.

Nor is the effect of the dispute between Moscow and Peiping certain in all circumstances to work out for the benefit of the free societies. The pressure of Chinese competition in revolutionary propaganda could conceivably push the Soviet Union into steps which are not in line with its true interests and desires.

Yet, after making all due allowance for these possibilities, the great communist schism, on balance, seems advantageous to the cause of freedom. The nightmare of a monolithic communist bloc of almost one billion people, stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean, has been dispelled. We may be seeing only the beginning, not the concluding phases of the disintegration of the huge empire which Stalin, exploiting the moral and political weakness of the Western powers, carved out after the Second World War. It is better that the Soviet Union and China should be at odds than that their resources should be combined for subversive ends.

Provided there is no weakness, no appeasement in the face of threats emanating from Peiping or Moscow, provided that communist aggression is held in check, it is possible that in the course of time the hostility between Moscow and Peiping may advance from words to blows. The free nations muffed a promising diplomatic opportunity when they failed to direct their prewar diplomacy to the end of insuring that, if war must come, it should involve only the Nazi and communist tyrannies. If another such opportunity should arise, one may hope that experience will teach more insight and realism, that the free peoples will remain enthusiastically disengaged in the event of a clash between the two totalitarian giants. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Protectorate

A PROTECTORATE was an arrangement by which a strong country agreed to protect a weak country from all tyranny. Except from the strong country itself.

From a child's exam paper
cited by Art Linkletter

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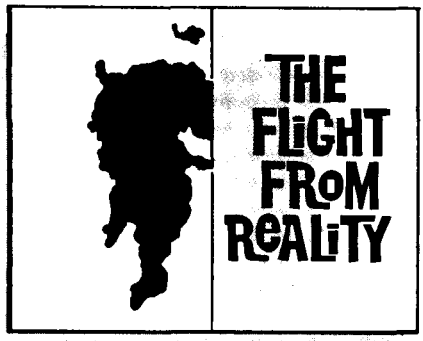

10. The New Creativity

CLARENCE B. CARSON

Divine am I inside and out, and I make holy whatever
I touch or am touch'd from.

—WALT WHITMAN, 1855

. . . In fact, we philosophers and "free spirits" feel ourselves irradiated as by a new rosy dawn by the report that "the old God is dead"; our hearts thereby overflow with gratitude. . . . At last the horizon seems once more unobstructed . . .; our ships can at last start on their voyages once more. . . .

—FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, 1882

. . . Now this empirical knowledge has grown till it has broken its low and limited sphere of application and esteem. It has itself become an organ of inspiring imagination through introducing ideas of boundless possibility . . . irrespective of fixed limits. . . . It is convertible into creative and constructive philosophy.

—JOHN DEWEY, 1920

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY abounds in paradoxes. Not the least of these is the disparity between technological developments on the one hand and developments in arts, politics, and social arrangements on the other. No other century in history can match what has already taken place in the twentieth in technological inventions, improvements, and devices. It staggers the imagination to survey what has been wrought in the last hundred years, to extend the survey back into the previous century a few years. Some will not consider all the innovations unqualified blessings, but everyone must marvel at what has been provided: electric lights, automobiles, mechanical refrigerators, phonographs, airplanes, radio, television, typewriters, calculators, and so on through an ever-increasing list of contrivances. It has not been many years since a hospital

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was usually a way station to the funeral parlor. A revolution – to use the word dubiously – has occurred in the last generation in medicine. Scientific developments have taken place which have rendered the doings of scientists into something beyond the ken of outsiders. Technological progress has gone forward at an unparalleled pace.

By contrast, there has been a decided retrogression in the arts and literature. The techniques for purveying the arts and literature have kept pace with technological developments elsewhere. For example, the invention of recording and of phonographs has made possible, the reproduction of musical programs in the home with great fidelity to the original playing. But the quality of music composed in this century is generally far inferior to that of the preceding century. It is true that audiences will now tolerate a selection from a twentieth century composer – from Stravinsky, Bartok, Ives, or Copland – if it is surrounded in the program by pieces composed in earlier centuries.

Contemporary painting and painters apparently flourish, but the art of careful drawing and painting is largely kept alive by commercial requirements. The novel has degenerated into barely disguised biographical accounts of the doings of bohemians, or into thinly coated historical recreations. Contemporary poetry consists of jingles on the one hand and jumbles of words without form or rhyme or reason on the other. If the case of architecture is somewhat better, it can probably be attributed mainly to the taste of those who pay the bills, not to those who purvey the services. Such exceptions as occur to the above generalizations only serve to highlight the general condition.

Objections Anticipated

The usual objections to the above critique need to be dealt with, at least summarily. It can be objected that the evaluation of the arts and literature is a matter of taste. This amounts, however, to saying that there are no standards by which to judge the arts. The belief, and the practices that follow from it, that there are no standards is just another instance, as well as a cause, of the deterioration in the arts. Another frequent objection to the above critique goes something like this: Every age and time has its mediocre and inferior artists. In the course of time, these are forgotten, and only the giants remain. Such is undoubtedly the case, but it is largely irrelevant as a refutation of the above contention.

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My point is not simply that the twentieth century has no musical master of the caliber of Beethoven, or that not every writer has reached the heights of Mozart; it is rather that the composers rated as first rate are inferior to first rate composers of earlier centuries, that the second rate are inferior to the second rate ones, and that the caliber of music being produced does not measure up to past standards. I read somewhere that a composer had a scholarship for a year, I think it was, in which he composed a violin concerto. Mozart composed five concertos for the violin between April and December of 1775. If it be objected that Mozart was a genius, one should still note that like geniuses are missing from among us. In short, there is no evidence of progress in the arts commensurate with that in the sciences and technology.

Political and Social Deterioration

Political and social developments are not quite so difficult to evaluate, nor the positions taken quite so controversial as those about the arts. The evidence for positions taken is more readily assembled and more nearly apparent. The indications of political deterioration in this century are abundant and conclusive. In the political realm, the tendency almost everywhere in the world has been toward totalitarianism, dictatorship, arbitrary government, the police state, the rounding up and imprisoning of political dissidents, the overthrow of older orders, and political experimentation and manipulation. The belief in and observance of lawful modes of operation by agents of governments has fallen below what it was generally in the seventeenth century. (There are, of course, countries in which this is not yet the case.) Socially, the breakup of the authority of the family evinces itself in divorce rates and juvenile delinquency.

Many would object to the particulars of the above formulations, but there is widespread agreement that there is great disparity between developments in science and those elsewhere. In academic circles the disparity is acknowledged backhandedly by some such analysis as this: The humanities and social sciences need to catch up with the physical sciences and technology. Knowledge about human beings has not kept pace, it is alleged, with that about things.

In Proper Sequence

Such a way of putting it almost completely obscures the roots of the untoward political and artistic developments. It puts the best possible face on what has occurred

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and allows the very men and ideas which have wrought the consequences to go free of responsibility for it. Historically, politics and the arts were not *behind* technology in the application of ideas drawn from science. If anything, the reverse was the case. The artistic, political, and social implications of modern science were being generally pointed out and applied by the eighteenth century. (It will be remembered that modern science emerged in the seventeenth century.) By contrast, the technological implications are still unfolding, and this is largely a nineteenth and twentieth century development.

It does not follow, of course, that the social studies and humanities are *ahead* of technology now. They are neither ahead nor behind. What has happened cannot be fitted into a nice progressivist formulation at all. Politics and the arts have been cut off from reality; the proponents and developers of them have been engaged in a flight from reality. By contrast, technology is still rooted in its scientific foundations, and practicing scientists appear to be closer to reality than do other intellectuals. If technology should follow the path of the social studies and the humanities it would be cut loose from its foundations in laws and might be expected, subsequently, to degenerate.

Creature or Creator?

The key to understanding what has happened in the humanities and social studies (and from them to the arts and to politics) is the new conception of creativity. The way has been partially prepared thus far in this study for understanding the New Creativity, but before pointing out the connections to it of positions already established it may be well to examine the idea of creativity from an historical point of view.

So far as I can tell, the use of creativity to refer to something that man does or can do is a recent innovation. Certainly, this usage has no foundation in the main Western tradition of thought. Traditionally, creation was what God did when he brought the universe into being, or, following the account in Genesis, gave the universe its form and brought beings into existence. One unabridged dictionary gives this as its first meaning of the word "creation." To wit: "The act of creating from nothing; the act of causing to exist; and especially, the act of bringing this world into existence." On the other hand, the *American College Dictionary* drops this particular meaning to third position, and deals with it as a

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special phrase. It says, "*the Creation,* the original bringing into existence of the universe by the Deity." The most absolute view of creativity imaginable was held by St. Augustine concerning God's creation of the world. He held that it was created *ex nihilo,* out of nothing.

> How, O God, didst Thou make heaven and earth? Truly, neither in the heaven nor in the earth didst Thou make heaven and earth; nor in the air, nor in the waters, since these also belong to the heaven and the earth; nor in the whole world didst Thou make the whole world; because there was no place wherein it could be made before it was made, that it might be; nor didst Thou hold anything in Thy hand wherewith to make heaven and earth. . . .[1]

There were differences among philosophers, of course, as to the extent and character of the Creation. Aristotle did not even believe that the universe had been created; it has always existed, he thought. Probably a more usual view was that the universe was created, but that this consisted of giving it form and order. Be that as it may, what man does was not conceived of as creativity. Plato and Aristotle conceived of the artist as imitating reality. For example, Aristotle said: "Tragedy, then, [by which he meant a tragic drama] is an imitation of an action. . . ."[2] They did not necessarily, or particularly, mean a literal imitation of things as they appear to the sight.

Conveying the Ideals

Traditionally, the arts have been imitative of an underlying order. They have evoked ideals, caught the essence of man, or of a man, captured and set forth that which the most sensitive perceive in a thing. In short, the artists, too, labored in a metaphysical framework. They did not create; they imitated, but this was by no means a lowly task. Few things could be more worthy of doing than to make visible by painting and sculpture, to make audible by music, to communicate by drama and poetry, or to cast in concrete form by architecture the underlying order in the universe and the ideals of justice, honor, truth, beauty, and piety by which men should live. That the artist did not create these was no reproach; it was enough that he should convey them. In this context, if the artist were to create, he would be committing a fraud, for he would be deceiving men as to the nature of the underlying reality.

Nor were other kinds of activity

[1] Quoted in W. T. Jones, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1952), p. 354.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 250.

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conceived of as being creativity. Social thinkers were not supposed to be creating social and political relationships, but rather discovering them and setting them forth. Morality was behavior in accord with the order in the universe and/or Divine injunction. Notice the language in which the work of authors and inventors is described in the United States Constitution in the phrase which empowers Congress "to promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries." Even the inventor was apparently thought of as a discoverer.

Something New

But a change has occurred. Nowadays, all sorts of undertakings are described as being creative. There are courses in creative writing in colleges. There are books on creative thinking, researches into the sources of creativity, articles on creative group thinking, and public expressions of concern about how to foster creativity. Invention, discovery, innovation, artistic endeavor, and social thought are now conceived of as being creative. The following definitions and examples of usage indicate the scope of the word as it is now employed. One writer approves this definition heartily: "Creativity is the imaginatively gifted recombination of known elements into something new."[3] Another writer says:

> *My definition, then, of the creative process is that it is the emergence in action of a novel relational product, growing out of the uniqueness of the individual on the one hand, and the materials, events, people, or circumstances of his life on the other.*[4]

He points out that his definition embraces all sorts of activities:

> Creativity is not, in my judgment, restricted to some particular content. I am assuming that there is no fundamental difference in the creative process as it is evidenced in painting a picture, composing a symphony, devising new instruments of killing, developing a scientific theory, discovering new procedures in human relationships, or creating new formings of one's own personality as in psycho-therapy.[5]

Dictionaries have come to include these new meanings of creativity. The *American College Dictionary* offers as one definition of

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[3] Harold F. Harding, "The Need for a More Creative Trend in American Education," *A Source Book for Creative Thinking*, Sidney J. Parnes and Harold F. Harding, eds. (New York: Scribner's, 1962), p. 5.

[4] Carl R. Rogers, "Toward a Theory of Creativity," in *ibid.*, p. 65.

[5] *Ibid.*

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"create": "to evolve from one's own thought or imagination." Another defines "creation" as "anything produced or caused to exist, in mechanics, science, or art; especially an unusual product of the mind; as the master *creations* of art."

It could be objected that this is all a matter of semantics, that the word has come to have an additional meaning, that at most there is some ambiguity in such usuages. But the loose use of language is not something to be taken lightly, even if this were all that is involved. We think and express ourselves in words. We may not be conscious of the connotations and overtones of language; these nevertheless influence our thinking and color what we say for those who hear or read it.

But what is involved here is not simply a matter of semantics. A new conception of creativity has been developed. Many have come to think of man as a creator. Invention, discovery, innovation, and origination have come to be thought of as creation. The framework within which this occurred has already been set forth. It included the cutting loose from reality, the sloughing off of the past by denying repetition in history, and the positing of a new reality—a reality consisting of change, society, and psyche. The impetus to social creativity was provided by the visions of utopia that could be created, and a new pseudo philosophy — pragmatism — provided a substitute philosophy which allowed free play to the imagination.

The Role of Romanticism

Several lines of thought converged to buttress the new conception of creativity. Romanticism was the first of these outlooks to appear. Romantics exalted the imagination, the will, desire, feeling, and subjective experience. They tended to withdraw inward to discover that which was most important to them. Romantics tended to exalt literary and artistic activity, to see in it a means of contact with the Divine, or, depending upon the thinker, a divine activity itself. The poet, or other artist, was thought of as having a particularly high calling, for he could transcend the limits of ordinary experience by intuitions and grasp things of the greatest importance. The artist, at least, became a kind of demigod to many thinkers.

Evolutionism

A second strain in the New Creativity came from what can be called evolutionism. If it is proper to speak of revolutions in thought, then it is no exaggeration to say that the theory of organic evolu-

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tion was the basis for a profound intellectual revolution. All sorts of hypotheses were spawned in the wake of the spread of this idea. If accepted in all its implications, Darwinian evolution fundamentally altered conceptions of creativity. Christians had generally believed, prior to the latter part of the nineteenth century, that Creation was a completed act of God. But now some thinkers began to conceive of creativity as an ongoing process, something that had occurred in time and might be expected to continue in time.

The crucial point for creativity, as it is being considered here, was whether or not man could actually participate in this evolutionary creativity. Social Darwinists, such as Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner, held that he could not. The course of evolution was determined by "forces." Perhaps the most influential philosophical theory that man participates in evolution is the theory of Creative Evolution. It was set forth in 1907 by Henri Bergson, a French philosopher. Bergson held that evolution cannot be explained by the operation of mechanical forces. There are moments of "spontaneous originality in nature, and especially in certain activities and experiences of mankind. The work of a great poet or painter clearly cannot be explained by merely mechanical forces. . . . This kind of activity. . . , resulting in something new, is typical of creative evolution."[6]

Man Participates

There has been a variety of applications of the notion that man participates in evolution creatively. The most important, from the point of view of this study, is the one known as reform Darwinism, a doctrine advanced particularly by Lester Frank Ward. Ward held that by social invention man could direct and control the course of social evolution. That is, he could create instruments for doing this, and, indeed, had been doing so for ages. Man participates in evolution by developing means for cooperating with the process of evolution. The idea would seem to be this: one may by study discern the evolutionary trends. He can then work with them to bring about desired ends. Ward thought he discerned a rising social consciousness in his day, that the time when society would take over the direction of affairs collectively was at hand, and that the acquisition of knowledge would be for the purpose of fostering this development. He said, "If it can be shown that society is actually moving toward any ideal, the ultimate

[6] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, VI (1955), 652.

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substantial realization of that ideal is as good as proved. The proofs of such a movement in society to-day are abundant."[7]

Science and Technology

A third stream to enter the New Creativity has been called scientism. No one has advanced a doctrine or ideology by that name; it is a derogatory term applied to the practice of indiscriminately extending the ideas or methods of science. More specifically, the development to which I allude should probably be called technologism, though the language is already sufficiently barbarized by "isms" without adding another. At any rate, there is a view of creativity drawn largely from technology. Many people have been swept off their feet, as it were, by developments in technology. They have been so awed by the achievements in this area that they have thought there was a major clue for all areas of human activity in technology. There may be, but the development to which I refer was based upon a misunderstanding of technology. As we have seen in an earlier article, John Dewey confused science with technology, failed to take into account the fact that technologists apply previously *discovered* laws, deduced methods from the behavior of technologists, and proposed to apply these to all human thought and activity. Essentially, he thought that the inventor created, and that this kind of activity could be endlessly extended.

[7] Lester F. Ward, "Sociocracy," *American Thought*, Perry Miller, ed. (New York: Rinehart, 1954), p. 117.

Existentialism Promoted: Kierkegaard and Nietzsche

The fourth support for the new conception of creativity came from existentialism. Actually, this philosophy did not get much fame, or notoriety, until after World War II with the writings of Jean Paul Sartre and Albert Camus. But the origins of the ideas are traced back into the nineteenth century, primarily to Soren Kierkegaard and Friedrich Nietzsche. Thus, some of the ideas can be said to have buttressed the New Creativity, though the philosophy was not yet known by its current name. Nietzsche's impact, at least, was considerable in artistic circles in the early twentieth century. For example, H. L. Mencken was an early American devotee of Nietzsche.

There are several schools of existentialism, but they generally share several premises with one another. The basic one, the one from which the name comes, is that existence *precedes* essences. Existentialists see man, or per-

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haps men, as creatures existing in space and time. The most important fact in the world, to them, is existence. They are not interested in, indeed are opposed to, essences, or the search for essences. They want to confront experience in all its richness, not in some abstraction from it. To really be is to act, for in acting one's existence is filled out and extended. Existentialists run the gamut from rugged individualists to Christians to Marxists. But whatever their tendency, they are concerned with the here and now, with the given existence, with acting upon it and coming more fully to be.

Did Man Create God?

Nietzsche provided the most drastic foundation for human creativity. God is dead, said Nietzsche, and he had a profound conception of the significance of what he was saying. He was proclaiming, too, that the past was dead, that the foundations of Western civilization were gone, that man's views must be drastically reoriented. As one writer puts it, "For when God is at last dead for man, when the last gleam of light is extinguished and only the impenetrable darkness of a universe that exists for no purpose surrounds us, then at last man knows that he is alone in a world where *he has to create his own values.*"[8]

It meant something more too; it meant that men created their gods. God existed for Nietzsche, only so long as men sustained their belief in Him. This was an exact reversal of the traditional view, the view that God created man and sustained him by His Providence. There are implicit conclusions that must logically follow: namely, that man is higher than the gods, for he has created them; that man is the lord of creation, for he is the highest being; that if creation could occur, it would probably be by man. Nietzsche talked of a Superman, the unusual man (or men) who would rise above morality, go beyond good and evil to become the new master.

> Before God! – Now however this God hath died! Ye higher men, this God was your greatest danger.
>
> Only since he lay in the grave have ye again arisen. Now only cometh the great noontide, now only doth the higher man become – master![9]

Not all the exponents of the New Creativity were as sensa-

[8] William Barrett, "Introduction," *Philosophy in the Twentieth Century*, III, William Barrett and Henry D. Aiken, eds. (New York: Random House, 1962) 148. Italics mine.

[9] Quoted in Richard H. Powers, ed., *Readings in European Civilization* (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), p. 505.

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tional in their advocacy as was Nietzsche, of course. But even the pedestrian John Dewey talked about a theory of art which has its foundation in the new view. Dewey discusses essentialism as a way of seeing things. He does not, however, believe that there are any essences which subsist in a metaphysical realm. The habit of looking to essences is merely something created and maintained by artists:

> If we are now aware of essential meanings, it is mainly because artists in all the various arts have extracted and expressed them in vivid and salient subject-matter of perception. The forms or Ideas which Plato thought were models and patterns of existing things actually had their source in Greek art, so that his treatment of artists is a supreme instance of intellectual ingratitude.[10]

It turns out, then, according to Dewey, that the foundations of Western philosophy were planted by artists in the mind of Plato. Philosophy, it appears, was really created by dramatists.

A New Creativity has emerged then, a radical view of man's capabilities, a changed conception of art and social affairs. Those who hold these views see man as a creator. The roots of the creativity are in the psyche, in the subconscious; in short, creativity arises from the irrational depths of the mind. Great value is placed upon innovation, change, originality, experiment, all of which are supposed to result in new creations.

Subconscious and Irrational

Perhaps the strangest of contradictions in a paradoxical age is that between the avowed evaluation of man and the men one confronts in imaginative literature. On the one hand, man is held in the highest esteem, supposed to be capable of doing great things, viewed as entrustable with great power, held to be innately good, and life is presented in the ethos of the time as a potentially highly enjoyable affair. On the other hand, novels and stories are more apt than not to show the gradual degradation of a man in the course of his life, the disintegration of his personality, the emptiness of the things he does, and so on. This story is told over and over again in modern fiction.

These contradictions, and others alluded to earlier, can be explained largely in terms of the New Creativity. The attempt to locate creativity in the subconscious has resulted in irrational artistic productions. That which is dredged up from the irrational is irrational; that which is undisciplined

[10] John Dewey, *Art as Experience* (New York: Minton, Balch & Co., 1934), p. 294.

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in its production is undisciplined. It is at least plausible that the contents of the subconscious are subconscious for good and sufficient reason, that the subconscious is the garbage pail of the mind, and that one may no more look for the clue to life or for sustenance for healthy living there than in actual garbage pails. That which comes to us *directly* from these depths poisons life. The evidence for such a conclusion now exists in great profusion.

The attempt to create something out of nothing, or to draw from the junk yard of the psyche, results in noise instead of music, chaos rather than order in painting, disfigurement rather than form in sculpture, the denigration of man rather than his exaltation in literature, the death of art rather than life. Social invention aimed at creation based on the inchoate "needs" and "desires" of people has resulted in arbitrary government, the loss of liberty, the tendency of governments to become total in character, the disruption of economies, social dislocation, and inharmonious relationships among people.

Materializing the Mirage

The explanations for these developments is now before us. Thinkers and artists have cut themselves off from their experience, posited or accepted a "new reality," and believed it was possible for them actually to create something. They calculate or act in terms of time, society, and beliefs or feelings of men, all of which are subject to change. They ignore the underlying and enduring realities: the laws in the universe, the principles of human action, the essentials of artistic or economic production, human nature, and the conditions of liberty.

If man could indeed create, there would be no theoretical reason why governments could not issue fiat money and prevent inflation at the same time, why everything could not be controlled and directed by governments and the liberties of the people increased, why a world government of law could not be established without putting up with the inconvenience of having laws founded upon an enduring order, why the United States (or the Soviet Union) could not intervene in the affairs of other countries without subtracting from their independence, why taxes could not be lowered and government services increased without any untoward effects, why governments could not confiscate private property and still get private investors from other lands to pour money into their industries, why the prices of those things that go into the production

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of goods could not be fixed and have retail prices remain flexible, why writers could not create a vision of order which would inform their writings without believing in any such real order, why painters could not picture beauty and order without discipline, why children could not be made good by surrounding them with pleasant objects without any support from the belief in and knowledge of a moral order in the universe, why the economy could not be collectivized and individualism retained, and so on through what could be a much longer list of the fads, foibles, and dangerous doctrines of an era.

It is not strange that literary critics should be fascinated with ambiguities today. Men who lack a firm grip on the nature of man and the universe must surely be overcome with the failure of that which was intended and promised to materialize. There is an explanation for all of this. The notion that man can create realities out of irrational longing is not itself founded in reality. All attempts to act upon such premises must needs be abortive.

There is an explanation, too, for the otherwise strange and incomprehensible doings of reformers in this century. They have largely lost touch with reality. They have imagined themselves as gods or demigods who could create a reality out of their dream of it. It turns out that they were only men. It is small wonder that those who feel deepest should turn upon man, then, and describe him as so contemptible. ◈

The next article in this series will treat of "The Domestication of Socialism."

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

From a seller's tag attached to a handbrush:

User's Duty

TRUTH spreads by testimony. There is a sort of high compulsion, which lofty spirits recognize, to bear witness to the truth whenever found. That is how good standard merchandise gets worldwide distribution. A purchaser who has pleasure and satisfaction from the use of this brush spreads the news of his discovery to others whom he desires to enrich. If this brush pleases you, will you not tell about it to the most appreciative person you know?

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John Randolph of Roanoke

RUSSELL KIRK'S excellent *John Randolph of Roanoke: A Study in American Politics,* which on the date of its first issue in 1951 was a harbinger of modern conservative scholarship, has been republished by Henry Regnery of Chicago (480 pp., $5.95) with new appendices containing Randolph's more important speeches and a selection of his letters. The new edition is extremely welcome, for it comes at a time when Kirk is under considerable fire from one wing of the conservatives for his attempt to make the thought of the Anglo-Irishman Edmund Burke relevant to an America which, supposedly, has never had a Burkean tradition. What *John Randolph of Roanoke* emphasizes is that this country once had a Burke in politics – though the resemblance of Randolph, a tormented, sickly, sardonic South Virginia slaveholder, to Burke is obscured by so many surface differences that it takes some digging to find it.

The main point made by Kirk is that his two intellectual heroes had a common horror of abstraction in political thought such as Locke's theory of "natural rights," or Tom Paine's "rights of man." The things men did have a right to, in the Burke (and Randolph) view, were the benefits and traditions incorporated over the ages in their culture and society. "All we have of freedom, all we use and know, this our fathers bought for us, long and long ago," as I seem to remember Kipling. Kirk puts it this way: "Men's rights, in short, are not mysterious gifts deduced from a priori postulates; they are opportunities or advantages which the stability of a just society bestows upon its members."

I find myself biting on air when I read a sentence like that, for the definition of a "just society" would seem to demand a theory of the nature of man, which gets us back to "rights appropriate to man's nature," or "natural rights" *tout court.* But if my sense of logic makes me a Lockean, my tem-

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perament makes me a Burkean, for I agree with Kirk (and Burke and Randolph) that the tissue of traditional Anglo-American liberties should not be subjected to sudden change by legislatures – or courts!–prodded by the momentary clamor of pressure groups.

Just as Burke venerated the traditions of his eighteenth century British society, Randolph took the "Old Republicanism" of Tidewater Virginia as something that should remain beyond the reach of revolutionaries. Randolph did not like slavery, and he belonged for a time to Bishop Wilberforce's English society for the suppression of the slave trade. But he had inherited his slaves, and he considered that it would be a cruel thing to do to turn them off into a society not yet ready to absorb them as free men. Abolitionists angered him, for they believed that "all is to be forced – nothing can be trusted to time, or to nature." In his will John Randolph did give freedom to his slaves, who were sent after his death to lands which he had provided for them in Ohio. Kirk remarks upon the bitter irony that ensued when the people of Ohio, an abolitionist state, met Randolph's Negroes "with violence and drove them from the farms the southern champion had purchased for them."

Men of Honor and Learning

The Burkean reality of Virginia Tidewater life at the end of the eighteenth century was that it produced men of honor and learning. Randolph wanted it to continue that way. But he found himself in a Congress that had little use for his Old Republicanism. The Jeffersonian Republicans were, to Randolph's way of thinking, levelers; they looked to the development of an America of small yeoman farmers, and they angered him because of their enmity to such institutions as entail and primogeniture. The Federalists were no better, for they believed in the development of industry, the creation of cities, and the centralization of power in a federal state.

Old Republicanism required strict construction of the Constitution for the preservation of states' rights. In economics, it meant Free Trade, for the planters who supported the Old Republicans needed English markets for their crops, and found it more expedient – and cheaper – to trade for English manufactured goods. In foreign affairs, Old Republicanism meant political isolationism, for wars interfered with overseas commerce and put high taxes on agrarians who weren't prepared to pay them.

Since Randolph was never one

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to curb his tongue, he found himself embroiled with practically everybody else in politics in the Jeffersonian and earliest Jacksonian periods. For a while he made common cause with the New Englanders who opposed Jefferson's Embargo and the War of 1812. The embargo and the war accomplished the ruin of both the Virginia Tidewater planters and the New England shipping interest—and after the war was over Massachusetts' Daniel Webster, a great opportunist, went over to the High Tariff enemy when it became apparent that the shipping interest would never come back. This left John Randolph with no important congressional allies.

But he did pass on the substance of his thought to John Calhoun of South Carolina. Originally a War Hawk and a nationalist, Calhoun embraced a Burkean defense of the tradition of states' rights when he realized that a nationalist North and West would menace the slave economy of the Deep South.

The Problems Remain the Same

Reading about Randolph's career in the Congress of a hundred and fifty years ago is a melancholy business. If the quixotic Old Republican were alive in 1965, he would recognize at least a hundred contemporary ironies as being very similar to the irony that forced southern enemies of slavery such as himself into the position of defending the rights of states to deal with their "peculiar institution" in their own way, What would Randolph, the enemy of Jefferson's Embargo and "Mr. Madison's War," do about trading with Soviet Russia or about war in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic? He would be forced, would he not, to the Burkean expediency of supporting little expeditions and an embargo on trade in strategic goods in order to forestall the coming of a big atomic blow-off.

As for Selma, Alabama, and all that it connotes, would Randolph, as a strict constructionist, invoke his principles to welcome a strict construction of the constitutional clause that says the privileges and immunities of the citizen shall be equal? I fancy that Randolph would acknowledge the Federal right under the Fifteenth Amendment to guarantee even-handed registration and to police the polls, but would fight to the end for the right of a state to impose educational qualifications on voters in a nondiscriminatory way and to retain the poll tax in local elections. This would leave a modern Randolph standing in uncomfortable isolation between the two fires of

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the Ku Klux Klan and the "liberals," a quite familiar spot for a battler for Old Republican principles.

Randolph would find himself right at home in the controversies over reapportionment and in the fight to cut foreign aid. The virtue of the Kirk study is that it shows that, while times do change, principles do not evaporate. This is a fine work even though it does argue in a circle on the subject of natural law. ◈

▸ IF YOU DON'T MIND MY SAYING SO, *Essays on Man and Nature* by Joseph Wood Krutch, New York: William Sloane Associates, 1964, 402 pp., $5.95.

Reviewed by: R. M. Thornton and E. A. Opitz

WE MAY NOT be able to frame a definition of philosophy, but we can, nevertheless, recognize a philosopher when we see one. He would be a man who had served a long and varied apprenticeship: professor of literature at Columbia University, dean of American drama critics, biographer of Samuel Johnson and Thoreau, naturalist, student of contemporary science, observer of the human scene on several fronts. He would, in short, be Joseph Wood Krutch.

Krutch wrote a little bombshell of a book in 1929, *The Modern Temper,* all the more shattering in its conclusion because of its urbane style. The book examines the universe supposedly revealed by modern science, draws some logical conclusions, and calmly demonstrates that the human spirit can no longer be or feel at home in such a universe. Exactly 25 years and many books later, Krutch returned to the general subject in a book called *The Measure of Man.* He does not here attack the argument of his earlier work, but rather outflanks it. The diagnosis of *The Modern Temper* still stands, but the prognosis is revised upward. Mr. Krutch sets forth his "reasons for no longer believing that the mechanistic, materialistic, and deterministic conclusions of science do have to be accepted as fact and hence as the premises upon which any philosophy of life or any estimate of (man's) future must be based." The new perspectives are further elaborated in several recent books and essays. Mr. Krutch calls himself an "essayist by habit," and in the present collection, culled from various journals and spanning many years, he has given us a delightful book, a book to enjoy, and then to ponder.

Krutch views his fellow creatures – and himself – with detachment and amused tolerance, so that his strongest criticisms per-

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vade one's thinking without setting up any unnatural resistance to what he has to say. He does not scold the social scientists for their infatuation with statistics and polls; he pats them on the head with a witty essay entitled "Through Happiness with Slide Rule and Calipers," and they visibly diminish. In "Whom Do We Picket Tonight?" he deflates those who feel called to mind other folk's business by observing that it is "sometimes easier to head an institute for the study of child guidance than it is to turn one brat into a decent human being." Dealing with those who disparage market competition, he writes: "When men cannot compete for wealth they compete for position, for authority, for influence in the right places. When they cannot own a palace, four automobiles, and ten servants, they manage to get themselves appointed to jobs in connection with which these things are assigned them. More dreadfully still, when these same men find themselves no longer required to pay the common man to do their work for them, they quickly discover that when the profit motive has been abolished, the fear motive affords a very handy substitute."

The things that people of a given period take for granted are answers supplied to them by thinkers whom they might not even know. It is the task of social criticism to confront us with the men we permit to do our thinking for us, to make us aware of our assumptions. Here is Mr Krutch's thumbnail analysis:

"The fundamental answers which we have on the whole made, and which we continue to accept, were first given in the seventeenth century by Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, and Rene Descartes, and were later elaborated and modernized by Marx and the Darwinians. These basic tenets of our civilization (in chronological but not quite logical order) are: (1) the most important task to which the human mind may devote itself is the 'control of nature' through technology (Bacon); (2) man may be completely understood if he is considered to be an animal, making predictable reactions to that desire for pleasure and power to which all his other desires may by analysis be reduced (Hobbes); (3) all animals (man excepted) are pure machines (Descartes); (4) man, Descartes notwithstanding, is also an animal and therefore also a machine (Darwin); (5) the human condition is not determined by philosophy, religion, or moral ideas because all of these are actually only by-products of social and technological developments which take place in-

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dependent of man's will and uninfluenced by the 'ideologies' which they generate (Marx)."

Krutch jokingly asserts that his claim to fame is that he knows more about plant life than any other drama critic, and more about the theater than any botanist! Essays in both fields are here, plus pieces on Johnson, Thoreau, and Mencken – whom Krutch regards as the best prose writer of the twentieth century.

Thoreau wrote that he came into the world, not to make it better, but to live in it good or bad. Similarly, Mr. Krutch, who turns a skeptical eye on many of the reforms currently proposed to improve the lot of mankind. He believes that society can be improved only by improving individual men and women and that "saving the world" is, perhaps, a task beyond man's capacity.

Krutch is proud of having never been taken in by communism, as were so many intellectuals during the past half century. Nor has he worshiped the other false gods of our time – Rationalism, Relativism, Progress, Equality, Science, and Democracy. He discusses attempts to cure educational ills by pouring money into school plant; he shows the fallacies in pacifism, and in the sociology which exhibits a more tender concern for the criminal than for his victim; he is critical of those who would make poverty the scapegoat for all social problems, and who then look to government to rid us of poverty. Mr Krutch distrusts all panaceas, for his faith is placed on the responsible individual. He argues cogently that there is discoverable meaning and purpose in human existence, and that man is a unique creation gifted with the will and the imagination to *make* a world, not merely submit to one. "Man's most important characteristic and that which bestows upon him his dignity is his freedom to choose."

Who says a book of essays has to be dull? ◈

▸ THE AMERICAN COLONIAL MIND AND THE CLASSICAL TRADITION by Richard H. Gummere, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 228 pp., $5.25.

Reviewed by Robert M. Thornton

MANY EARLY SETTLERS in America, and especially the intellectual and political leaders of colonial and revolutionary days, were college men, but mastery of the classics was by no means limited to those who had attended institutions of higher learning. The rate of literacy in settled regions was remarkably high, and the wisdom of Greece and Rome was continuously brought to bear on the prob-

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lems of everyday life. Mr. Gummere traces the classical ancestry of the Constitution which, like the Declaration of Independence, was in large measure the product of men whose schooling had been in "the grand, old, fortifying classical tradition."

"Two ancient ideas were regarded as fundamental by pre-Revolutionary Americans," says Mr. Gummere, "the Greek concept of a colony independent of the mother state, in everything but sentiment and loyalty, and the Law of Nature which took precedence over any man-made legislation." He quotes Cicero's celebrated version of this Law of Nature or Higher Law:

> True Law is Right Reason, in agreement with Nature; it is of universal value, unchanging and everlasting. It is a sin to alter this law . . . we cannot be freed from its obligations by senate or people, and we need not look outside ourselves for an expounder. There will not be different laws at Rome and at Athens; but one eternal and unchangeable law will be valid for all nations and all times. God is the author of this law. Whoever is disobedient is fleeing from himself and denying his human nature.

"The high water mark of the classical tradition in colonial writings" is, in Mr. Gummere's opinion, the correspondence between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson (1812-1826). "These two elder statesmen reveal a mastery of the classics and a practical application of ancient ideas to modern situations." They were, he writes, "at home in all fields of history."

It is precisely this at-homeness in history that is lacking in our age of innovation, with colleges offering practical courses, trivial electives, and quick returns. Here, as at so many points, Albert Jay Nock speaks to our condition:

"The literatures of Greece and Rome," he writes in his *Memoirs* (p. 81), "comprise the longest, most complete, and most nearly continuous record we have of what the strange creature known as *Homo sapiens* has been busy about in virtually every department of spiritual, intellectual, and social activity. That record covers nearly twenty-five hundred years in an unbroken stretch. . . . The mind which has attentively canvassed this record is much more than a disciplined mind, it is an *experienced* mind. It has come, as Emerson says, into a feeling of immense longevity, and it instinctively views contemporary man and his doings in the perspective set by this profound and weighty experience."

The effort to recover our past might be the most effective way to assure our future. ◈

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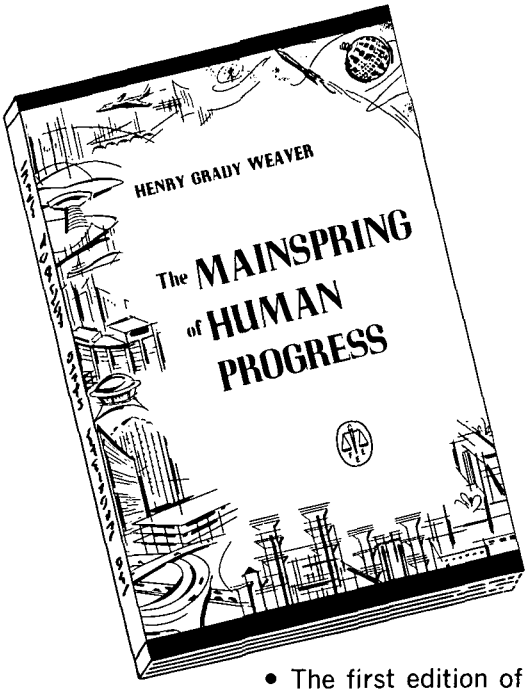

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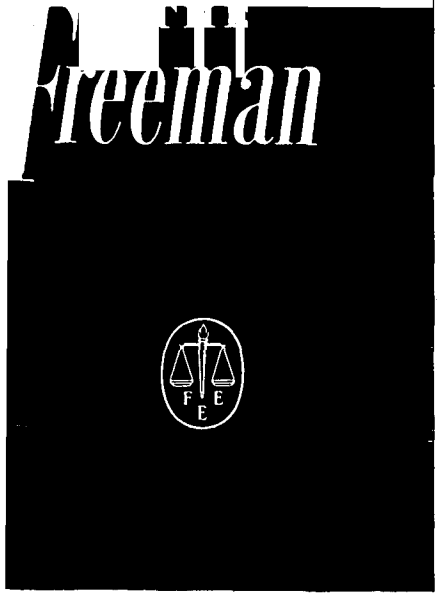

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U. S. Supreme Court, ***Board vs. Barnett,*** *319 U.S. 624, 637, 1943.*

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